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THE APRIL ESSAY

Can the American Race Problem Be Solved?

FIRST PRIZE, $5

Won by James Egert Allen, New York City

If we mean equal suffrage granted to all citizens; if we mean equal protection before the law; if we mean economic equality in the marts of the world; if we mean equal educational advantages to all youth; if we mean equal opportunity for full and free social, cultural and spiritual development, then the American Race Problem is solvable.

The advocates of religion base their solution upon a change of heart through a process known as spiritual regeneration. But something is wrong here. Africa refutes this method of solution. China is fighting it at this very moment. In fact, religion has aided more in racial discrimination than racial solution.

Another group advocate amalgamation. This method might aid but its millennium is too far away. Another civilization with another race, perhaps not white, will dawn upon us before this process is perfected. Besides, the varied shades or tints resulting from the process would still leave loopholes for the victims infected with colorphobia.

True: War, Socialism and other proposed methods might aid but there is only one hope for the Race Problem Solution and that is based upon Economics. Let a race amass wealth and economic independence and it gathers the world at its feet. Allow a race to secure a monopoly on a supply that is in constant demand and that race will force open every door barred against it.

The history of the Jews has been one of discrimination, but Jewish wealth has torn away marriage barriers, religious obstructions, educational walls, property obstacles and social embankments.

A materialistic civilization must have an economic foundation. Gold-grabbing America will cross any line of demarkation in her mad rush to her goal of dross gold.

Wealth-getting on the part of the race, will invite him to many Nordic dinner tables. The unionization of labor will introduce him to many Caucasian economic conferences. Banks and skyscrapers will open such educational gates as Princeton and Bryn Mawr. "Say it with Bucks" means race lads in West Point and Annapolis. Race educational achievement, art, culture and idealism are all included in this huge economic program as they alone are practically negligible.

Yes, we can effectively solve the problem by economic independence and achievement. Then will the lion and lamb lay themselves down in benighted Mississippi; the leopard change his spots in klanish South Carolina, and the rabbit "sock" the bulldog's jaw in Bryanistic Tennessee.

SECOND PRIZE, $3

Won by Dennis A. Bethea, M.D., Hammond, Ind.

So determined is the white man to retain his place in the sun which he has gained by blood and tears, that he is not disposed to step down a single inch from his vantage position to favor his weaker brother—the black man. Then the only hope of the colored man is within himself. As he cannot hope to win by force, his next best plan is to do it by strategy, or what we might call good common horse sense. If he is to work his way out of this dilemma, he will be compelled to use his head for something more than a mere hat rack.

In the matter of segregation, which his enemies have meant for his harm, he can turn to great good. In these communities, where the colored group is in the majority, they might just as well elect one of their own number to the city councils, the Legisture or to Congress. There are some already who have seen the light. It will not be long before South Side Chicago, Harlem New York, Philadelphia and St. Louis will have that cataract removed from their eyes and we will have four members of the race in Congress.

In a business way these colored settlements could be made just as profitable to colored business men as to the whites. They could get the business if they would adopt the same methods of other wide-awake men. Then if these business places received the right kind of support, there would soon be many of the race in each locality of sound financial standing.

And further, the race could demonstrate to the world its worth, by being cleanly clad when on the streets and in public places. Their homes also should not be neglected. Their premises should be so well kept that passersby cannot tell who lives there except they happen to see the inmates' faces or hear the Victrola playing the "Blues."

The Race Problem could be successfully worked out along this line. It is in these points that we show ourselves to be the weakest, and it is in these points that a race has its greatest power to win a place for itself. However, it is not likely that the problem will be solved during this or several generations to come. The fact of the matter is we are not willing to "Stoop to Conquer." This medicine is bitter—so bitter that we had rather die than to take it. In other words, we will not pay the price.

The only sensible course of action seems to be for each individual who has a vision, to set out to try to solve his own problem. After all, life is an individual problem. You would no more expect a man to solve the race problem who had not worked out his own than you would a man to save your own, or take care of your family and money for you when he cannot save his own wife from the poor-house.

THIRD PRIZE, $2

Won by Felix A. Northern, New York City

Our existence and progress in America make us a problem to the white man; while how to combat his unfairness to us and win equal privileges is our side of the problem—hard, but solvable.

The problem, as I see it, has two angles

(*Continued on Page* 140)

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VOLUME IX NUMBER 5

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
Cover: Solidarity. By Wilbert Holloway	
Can the Race Problem Be Solved? Prize Essays	138
Moslem Propaganda. By A. T. Hoffert	141
Variations on a Black Theme. By S. Miller Johnson	142
Impressions of Morocco. By J. A. Rogers	143
Educating Nordics. By Kathryn M. Johnson	144
Negro Land-Grant Colleges. By R. S. Wilkinson	145
The Aframerican Academy	147
Negro Distance Runners. By Dr. E. B. Henderson	148
Text Books in Public School. Alice Dunbar-Nelson	149
Negro Womanhood's Greatest Needs. A Symposium	150
The Philosophy of the Brotherhood. By A. Saggitarius	151
Aframerican Snapshots. Drawn by Wilbert Holloway	152
The Science of Uncle Remus. By Theophilus Lewis	153
Editorials	154
Business and Industry	156
The Theater. By Theophilus Lewis	157
Best Editorial for March. By Eugene Gordon	158
Shafts and Darts. By George S. Schuyler	159
Messenger Gossip	160
Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters	161
Book Bits. By James W. Ivy	167
Open Forum	171

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The April Essay

(*Continued from Page* 138)

of approach to its solution. One is the white man's angle. The other is the Negro's angle. The white man needs only to practice the golden rule and give his black brother a man's chance, and the problem would vanish as the mist before the sun. The Negro's angle of solution is necessarily different since it more vitally concerns himself. His action must be more drastic since he is the oppressed.

The white man's attitude towards the problem is negative. The Negro's attitude towards it must be positive.

To solve the problem, every Negro in this country, to a man if possible, should present himself as a positive force in working out the question. There are three great weapons we as Negroes can use in going after it. They are education, organization, and religion.

First, we need education enough to arouse race pride. We need education to make us keenly alert to our position and condition in this country. We need minds imbued with high purpose and ambition and brains trained to think. We need education enough to bring us a vision and brains enough to materialize it. We need education to awaken us from the stupefying sleep of contentment and arouse in us the desire for better conditions. We need sense enough to see that it is far better to train the feet to climb the difficult and oftime obscure ladder of worthwhile achievement than to train them in the steps of the "charleston" or the "black bottom." We need brains trained enough to want something; to know what we want, to intelligently plan to get what we want, and then to turn into the best advantage the things acquired when we have gotten what we want! Knowledge is power, and thought can shake the world.

Next we need better race organization; especially political organization. I believe in Negro political consolidation. Through organized voting strength, more use of the ballot, we could make them respect us.

Last, but not least, we must not forgot God. From him comes courage, forceful character, morality, wisdom, without which no step succeeds.

Education, organization and religion—these constitute the greatest formula.

Fourth Prize: A Year's Subscription to The Messenger

Won by Fritz Cansler, Denver, Colorado

It was a strange company indeed who came into possession of the Promised Land. (Whether you are one with the Fundamentalists in their "cover to cover" brand of religious interpretation, or with Fosdickian superciliousness, you profess contempt and disregard for "wooden-headed Western literalism" in the acceptance of the historicity of the record of the ancient Jewish scribe, my story is not affected.) Quoting: "The Lord heard the voice of your works and was wroth and sware, saying, 'Surely there shall not one of the men of this evil generation see that good land . . . save Caleb, the son of Jephunneh, and Joshua, the son of Nun (because he hath wholly followed the Lord) for he shall cause Israel to inherit it'." Thus, of a community of at least a million, only two could possibly have been more than forty years old, and in an age (here again must I apologize to Sinclair Lewis, if he sees this, and to those whose Patron Saint he is), when the normal expentancy was a longer span of life than this generation enjoys.

What a field for the Reformer! What an opportunity for a new idea! Flaming youth in a new land and facing a new life with its manifold problems, free and unhampered by the experiences, restrictions or the sage advice of know-it-all maturity!

Can the American Race Problem be settled? My answers are: No and Yes. By adult America, encrusted with myths and fancies, bound by tradition and training, hedged in mentally by environmental influences, cramped by customs more binding than a Klansman's oath—NO, NEVER! That "a man is as old as his arteries" is better than a "wise crack" says the surgeon. The little demon that encourages and fosters the deposits of calcium in the tissues of the blood vessels, has a twin-born brother none the less demoniacal and of far greater social menace, who hardens the walls of the brain cells (or whatever it is we think with) and renders them impervious when a new idea turned loose in the world seeks there for admittance.

(*Continued on Page* 166)

Orthodox Christianity!

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MOSLEM PROPAGANDA

The Hand of Islam Stretches Out to Aframerica

By A. T. HOFFERT, *Chicago University*

ISLAM is bidding for converts among the Negroes of our larger American cities. Not content to contest with Christian missions for the pagan tribes of Africa, Moslem missionaries are endeavoring to secure a footing in the more important centers of the West. In this paper I shall note the growth of Islam among Negroes, state the methods used by its promoters and endeavor to indicate the secret of its success.

I. Progress of Islam in America

Organized Moslem groups are found at present in five American cities. New York claims a membership of 120 to 125. A Negro Moslem is in charge. Several Negroes and a group of Syrians form the Moslem group in Detroit. The local leader is a Syrian. Indianapolis claims about 36 members, a colored man from Africa is in charge. At St. Louis a membership of about 75 has been secured through the vigorous efforts of a colored leader who was formerly a Christian preacher. Some years ago he came in contact with the Moslem movement in Chicago and was converted to Islam. Upon returning to St. Louis he began presenting his new faith both to individuals and to groups. All local leaders serve their groups free of charge.

Chicago claims 60 to 70 active members, although between 250 and 300 joined the movement. Thus, if this proportion is typical, out of the total 1,400 who have joined Islam in America, not over 400 can be called active members.

Mr. M. M. Sadiq of India came to America early in 1920 as a representative of the Ahmadiya Movement, an aggressive sect among the Moslems. This sect was founded about thirty-five years ago by Mizra Ghulam Ahmad of North India. He claimed to be the promised Messiah and Madhi. He died in 1908. His son now heads the Ahmadiya Movement. Mr. Sadiq purchased a "flat" at 4448 South Wabash, Chicago, and converted it into a mosque. This serves as the headquarters of the movement in America. Mr. Mohammed Yusaf Khan of India is at present in charge and makes his home at the Mosque. Mr. Sadiq returned to India in 1923.

I visited the Sunday services at the mosque repeatedly, talked with Negro converts and visited in their homes. For most part they are confirmed believers in Islam. They read the Koran and other Moslem literature. Christian claims are discredited and Islam accepted at full value. These new converts argue for Islam with vigor and enthusiasm.

II. Services at the Mosque

The dome and its minarets distinguish the mosque in Chicago from adjoining flats. The prayer room on the second floor is just beneath the dome. Three rooms on the first floor which are connected by double-door passage ways provide room for the Sunday meetings. The attendance varies from 25 to 40, consisting mostly of adults. The service opens with a prayer in Arabic; then the catechism is read, after which Arabic phrases in every day use are reviewed.

Mr. Khan, the lecturer, is listened to with interest. Nods of assent are evident as the speaker warms to his subject. His severe criticisms of the West bring the largest response from his hearers. He presents Islam as a religion of peace and brotherhood. There is no discrimination as to race. Mohammed is held forth as a perfect example, suffering persecution, forgiving his enemies and using the sword only when necessary to defend the faith. Islam is claimed to be the only world religion. Jesus himself said he was not sent except to the lost sheep of the house of Israel.

Critical material bulks large in these lectures. Christianity is held responsible for all the vice and crime of western civilization. Mohammed was greater than Jesus. He was more practical. Christianity promises a man salvation in the next world but leaves him in hell here. Jesus forbade swearing, yet Christians swear. He forbade divorce, yet Christians practice it. The atonement did not remove the results of Adam and Eve's sin. The pains of child birth are not removed. Man still works by the sweat of his brow. "Christianity cannot solve your international problems, nor your social problems, nor your racial problems, nor your industrial problems, but just believe, it says, and you will be saved."

Others frequently speak after the main address. Then the collection plate is passed before the group withdraws to the prayer room above.

III. The Use of Literature

Literature is effectively used in the propagation of Islam. The Koran is placed above the Bible. Although Moslem writers go to great lengths to discredit the Gospels, at the same time they freely quote from the Bible to substantiate the prophetic claims of both Mohammed and Ahmad. For instance, since Mohammed is the only law-giving prophet since Moses, he is the only prophet "like unto Moses." As John the Baptist was not Elijah but came in his spirit and power, so the Second Messiah in the person of Ghulam Ahmad came in the spirit and power of Jesus.

Ahmad sets forth his claims in exalted terms: *"Listen O earth! and bear witness O Heaven!* that I have received instructions from on high, and have found access to the Divine mysteries. . . . My revelations are from God. . . . He exalted me to the dignity of Mahdi (the Guided) and Messiah and opened up to me all the treasures of secred wisdom."[1] His appeal for followers is stated in striking terms: "He who accepts me, accepts anew the prophets and their miracles, and he who rejects me shall lose even the tottering faith which he possessed before."[1] Miracles are attributed to him. He issued injunctions to Christians as well as to his own people. For instance, he says, "Ye were told not to drink wine to excess, but I tell you . . . drink no wine at all."[3]

Moslems claim that "Islam has been the greatest social and democratic force in the world, and the future of the world lies at the feet of Islam and nowhere else."[4] With millions of Moslems the world over, it is claimed, pressure can be brought to solve the race problem. "Islam opens as the door of hope to a depressed race. It aspires for world dominion."

IV. The Secret of Islam's Attraction

One convert told me how he was attracted to Islam by its simplicity. It has no trinity and no atonement which he cannot understand. Simply trust God for salvation. Islam's moral standard to him are attainable.

Another man was raised as a Catholic in the South. A white priest had charge of the colored church. At his death men of color carried his bier to its last resting place. That "niggers" should carry the coffin of a white priest caused a stir in the town. "If that is Christianity," he said, "then I don't want it." He came to Chicago, attended the mosque services, and joined Islam. It gives him a sense of dignity, he feels, which commands respect from the whites. It saved him from becoming a skeptic. Race prejudice was a factor in turning him to Islam.

A woman convert who had belonged to various churches spoke of her previous life like that of a dog or cat before its eyes are opened. Now the Negroes have their eyes opened; they are going to have their share of good things and stand on their own feet. She spoke of the universality of Islam, its way of life, one God, one aim, one destiny.

The idealism of Islam is contrasted with the baser elements of the West. This idealism, however, is largely based on Christian scriptures. The Ahmadiya Movement is the product of western culture, Christian missions and early reform movements among the Moslems. Mr. H. A. Walter, in his book on *The Ahmadiya Movement*, quotes Dr. Griswold, a missionary, who was well acquainted with Ahmad: "The Mizra Saheb is honest but self deceived. So far as I am able to judge, his writings everywhere have the ring of sincerity." (pp. 20, 27). Early in life Ahmad spent many hours in religious discussion with missionaries of the Church of Scotland. He lacked good judgment and could not disagree with an opponent without becoming angry.

Islam is critical in its approach; it makes capital of race prejudice. It offers no constructive program. It overstates the values found in Islam; it undervalues Christianity. It lacks a discriminating judgment.

Yet, the simple theology of Islam at-

(*Continued on page* 160)

[1]*Claims and Teachings of the Promised Messiah*, pp. 75-81; [2]Walter, *The Ahmadiya Movement*, p. 24; [3]H. M. B. Mahud Ahmad, *A Present to . . . the Prince of Wales*, pp. 49-51; [4]*What Is Islam*, a leaflet, p. 2.

VARIATIONS ON A BLACK THEME

By S. MILLER JOHNSON

Illustrated by Wilbert Holloway

I have seen my little black Nellie gal—all naked!
She was wearing a beach-robe of black and gold over one-piece bathing togs of blue and white.
She was strolling and singing and dancing 'long a silver sand-clad river bank
Trimmed with budding cane and tiny-leafed drooping willows.

I saw the tilt of her plump black breast
Beneath that robe of black and gold
Would its young beauty stand the test
Of flames that brown lips hold?

I'd like to take her lithe dark body in my arms
And gently squeeze from it
Rich juices of poetry and song.
For she's a slim gay gal with a heart and a song and a smile,
With a strut and a love for jazz!

As Nellie was singing and strolling and dancing 'long that silver sand-clad river bank,
She didn't see me sitting over there behind those drooping willows that waved by the silver river.
She didn't know I was feasting on the delicious rhythm of her liquid movements. . . .
And the sweet charm of her soft slim body—
Dark as the depths of Bantu-land
And as near the teeming earth where God is.

Nellie thought she was out there by herself . . . nobody peeping.
For she looked as free as the tall slim pines brushing bits of white clouds from the sky on the other side of the silver river,
As she skipped along that silver beach,
Her little black feet sinking up to her dancing ankles in silver sand.

Nellie threw back her head and smiled at her lover, the Sun.
She stretched her snake-like body up towards mighty heavens
She relaxed with a sigh in the arms of the sun-glow.
Ah! thought I, with a thrill and a jump.
The dance to the Sun and the Silver River!

She flung off her robe of black and gold
And danced to the Sun and the Silver River
A dance primitive as the earth, mother of gods.
She sang a song as she danced there in the silver sand—
A song ripe with oldness and teeming with newness, like the god-bearing earth,
'Neath pillared Angkor's mighty shades
Her palm-like body sways in dance.
Now slow, now mad. The rhythm fades,
Dissolves itself in air. By chance

Her flowered tunic falls away,
(The frantic dance goes on and on)
And shows her flesh in glad array
Adorned with gems from Askalon.

Nellie flung aside her suit of blue and white.
The Sun pretended to hide his face behind a little piece of white cloud.
But the sun was just fooling; he looked right through that veil of cloud at my Nellie.
I got kind of jealous when the Sun looked at my Nellie with no clothes on.

Nellie danced on.
She shook herself,
Like a doe jumping up from good healthful sleep
In shaded woodlands
By singing rivulets
And maiden springs—
Springs that whine like a brown gal longing for loving.
Nellie kept singing and dancing,
Singing a song mellow with many years, and new,—
Like the great god-bearing earth:

She floats in honey-tinted sighs,
She trips about on wings of song.
Desire beckons her with cries
Of, "Perfect happiness ere long!"

She's frankincense and myrrh, I ween.
Her countenance is fair.
Her head the proudest ever seen
Bedecked with silk-black hair.

Nellie's wild black hair fell loose,
Half veiling her beaming black face
Soft as finest chamois.

She lingered wantonly towards the edge of the silver water.
And placed her slender dark hands on her strong supple hips,
And gazed down upon her unclad self,
Her face aglow with mother-longing,
Like the mighty earth, mother of all the great gods of Black Folk.

(*Continued on Page* 160)

IMPRESSIONS OF MOROCCO

By J. A. ROGERS

Author of "From Superman to Man," "As Nature Leads," "The Ku Klux Spirit," etc.

OF the land of Abdel-Krim from which this is being written I will endeavor to give a few general impressions, mostly of a sociological nature.

The history of Morocco goes far back beyond the Christian era, perhaps its earliest possessor being Ethiopia, whose territory then extended from the Red Sea to the Straits of Gibraltar. Later, it was acquired by the Romans, and was known as the province of Tamesne, whose capital was Anfa, now the town of Casablanca. When the power of Rome waned, the Moors, not only won their independence, but invaded Europe. Jebel-Tarik, Moorish conqueror, captured Gibraltar in 711 A. D., and finally ousted Roderick, King of the Goths, from Spain. Then for nearly eight centuries the Moors remained one of the leading powers in Europe, giving it a culture that in its artistic quality, was perhaps hardly below that of the Greeks—a culture which has been praised in its highest terms by Nietzsche. In his opinion, Europe suffered a great loss when the Spaniards finally triumphed, and drove the Moors back across the straits. Buckle in his "History of Civilization in Europe," also lamented the loss.

There after the power of the Moors slowly dwindled, until their land was finally divided up between France and Spain in a conference held at Algeciras in 1906. Now they are a fallen power, just as Greece, Rome, Egypt, and other dead civilizations whose remains line the shores of the Mediterranean.

As to the racial composition of the Moors, it is not wholly Caucasian, as so many American ethnologists insist. As I see it here, as Shakespeare pictured it in Othello, and as writers before and after him, have done, the Moors are a mixture of African, European, and western Asiatic stock, with the Negro strain dominant. Look at any Negro community, particularly one in the North, with its sprinkling of fair and dark white persons, and one has a pretty accurate idea of a Moorish town as say Rabat, and the native quarter of Casablanca.

The best that can be said of the average Moor as I have seen him here, is that he is very backward. When these civilizations fall, they seem to lose almost all their energy, like a very old man. The Arab, a word, which has almost the identical meaning with Moor, has a tendency to reduce his expenditure of energy to a minimum, and large numbers of them may be seen in the smart French quarter, stretched out on the pavement of fine buildings, sound asleep, clad in indescribable rags. Native customs and conditions are as primitive as those of Bible time. It is as if one has stepped back into the days of the Arabian Nights. Such squalor, such ragged, dirty clothing, such wretched beggars in swarms, such neglected children, I have never believed before existed in such volume.

But that is not the entire picture. Some of the Moors are very wealthy, live in magnificent homes, wear clothes scrupulously white, and may be seen dashing about the towns in motor-cars of the latest French model.

They are, on the whole, still a very artistic people, making the leather goods, for which Morocco is world-famed. In some dirty little hole, called a shop, a black boy may be seen at work, stamping out wonderful designs on metal. Enter a Moorish store, just a little stall, in which the owner sits on the floor, cross-legged like a tailor, and one is enchanted at the richness and beauty in the designs of the slippers, shawls, leather goods, etc., for sale. And the jewelry is

MOROCCAN WOMAN

all real gold or silver—five and ten cent jewelry simply does not go. Jewelry is to a Moorish woman, what money in the bank is to a Westerner, and she never parts with it, unless in extreme need.

As to the women themselves, the orthodox ones are secluded. What is regarded as a decent woman, will show as little of her body as possible, all that is visible being her reddened finger-tips, stained heels, without stockings, and eyes with lids painted black.

Native life here contains a lesson to reformers at home, who wish to make all life adapt itself to the Bible, if this type of humanity is capable of learning a lesson. The arbiter of almost every movement is the Koran, a book written by Mohamet, fully fifteen hundred years ago. The result is stagnation, an almost perfect paralysis of thought, and stereotype of movement, while modern civilization with its aeroplanes and latest discoveries in hygiene are swirling around them. Prayer three times daily—at least this is the period of Ramdam, when all devout Moslems go at midday to the mosque, where they prostrate themselves before Allah on their prayer mats. There are no seats in the churches.

For the masses, the Koran is also the materia medica, much as the Bible was that of the people of the Middle Ages, or as Mrs. Eddy's Science and Health is that of the Christian Scientist. When the native practitioner repeats a verse or two of the Koran to the believer, and there happens to be a cure, then must Allah (God) be praised for his goodness; if the patient gets worse then it is because his faith has been weak. In any event, whatever happens is Kismet, the will of God.

As in Spain and Southern Italy, where the religion is not Mohamedan this time—but Christian, there is a firm belief in evil spirits—a belief, which by the way, is a source of great revenue to sharpers in America, particularly among colored folk. Very rich in minerals there is very little mining among the Moroccan natives, for as in parts of China, it is believed that the evil spirits (djinnoons) live in the earth and that if one ploughs it deeply he will turn them up. The more one thinks, the more deeply he realizes that the strongest ally of the capitalist individual or en masse, is the superstitions of the people on which he preys. The natives are the strongest opposers of any innovation—a notable exception being the Japanese. Just as in the Middle Ages the work of Roger Bacon was regarded as sorcery and the work of the devil, so I am informed that when the radio and other electrical contrivances first appeared here, it was set down as the work of djinnoons. Bruno and Vannini were burnt at the stake, Spinosa was persecuted, Galileo was forced to retract; Vesalius was hounded to his death for daring to dissect the human body at a time when it was considered sacriligous to do, because the body was said to be the supreme masterpiece of God. Hence superior Westerners, enjoying the benefits of science, which fought and still is fighting for existence, need not to look backwards, to see what may happen again if certain active retrogressive forces—forces whose almost sole activity is limited to wordiness and emotionalism, ever gain the upper hand.

Without wishing to be regarded as an upholder of Imperialism of any kind, French or otherwise, it seems to me, from what I have been able to see and hear so far that French occupation has been for the benefit of the country. At least the French invader has been no more harsh on the poorer natives, than the richer natives had been. Casablanca's French quarter is as modern an appearing town as one might see anywhere in America outside of the largest cities. The natural resources of the country are being developed largely for the benefit of France, as in the case of all other colonial powers. But, as I notice, the natives are very eager to get French money.

There is also a vast difference between the manner in which the natives are treated here, and say under under British rule in South Africa, where according to parliamentary reports, the natives are barred almost everywhere, and are not even permitted to follow certain occupations, as recently decreed by the Color Bar Bill. Here in French Morocco, one sees natives, black, white, yellow, or brown, eating at the best cafes, and doing all kinds of work,

(*Continued on Page* 169)

EDUCATING NORDICS

By KATHRYN M. JOHNSON

THERE is no doubt of the great need of the education of the white people through the distribution of literature concerning the Negro. I heard Mr. Wm. Alexander, National President of the Interracial Commission, make the statement in this city two years ago that he was a grown man, with all the prejudices of a Southern white man, before he learned that Crispus Attucks was a Negro; and that upon learning this fact his respect for Negroes increased 100 per cent.

That a white man could grow up in the South, or in any other section of the country, and learn nothing about Negroes except that they have been slaves, is not a thing to amaze any one; but the tragic thing about the whole matter is that not even Negroes have had a chance to learn anything of themselves, until within the last few years.

During the time that I was traveling as field worker for the N. A. A. C. P., I began to realize as never before the need of a definite tangible effort to help to relieve this situation. I remembered what a stultifying effort the silence of my own text books had upon me when I was a child in the public schools in the state of Ohio; I remembered very vividly the one picture of a Negro in any of the books; the picture of an African savage that had been placed in the Geography, to represent the types of men. Nothing was said of him except that he belonged to the most inferior of races. I also recalled with what pleasure I discovered a book while at Wilberforce which gave me something of a history of my own people.

This realization of a need grew into a compelling desire to somehow reach the people with a message that would awaken them to the injustice that had been done them; and so for five years I have been driving over the country, devoting myself to the task of getting into the hands of the people a Two-Foot Shelf of Negro Literature. This work has been done solely through public addresses, with the hope that I would not only be able to put some books into their hands, but so inspire them that they would have a desire to read them after they had purchased them. This has been an arduous task, fraught with no little difficulty, and sometimes danger, for we have not only driven north, east, and west, but even into the far south, through Alabama, George and along the east and west coasts of Florida, leaving our car at Miami, and going by overseas railroad as far south as Key West.

Everywhere we have found to a greater or less degree an awakening consciousness among our people, and in some places their response has been gratifying to the greatest degree. I have been able to place into their hands several thousand copies of different books, all of which were selected with the desire of offsetting the silence of text books and other books regarding the achievements of colored people.

In much the same way that this had been done among colored people, I think it could be done among the white. My method has been to talk to ready made audiences, for the reason that I have not been able to make out a set program for myself. Upon getting into a city I would ascertain the number of colored churches, and how many had congregations with a fair degree of intelligence. I would then visit the churches on Sunday, and talk for ten or fifteen minutes at the close of the services, according to the good nature and interest of the pastor in charge. I have also addressed Insurance Societies, Women's Clubs, Conferences, Conventions and what not.

Working in this way I have been forced to stay in some cities like Washington, Philadelphia, and Chicago, from six weeks to three months. Even at this rate I have been able to reach only a small minority of the people. The intelligent, thinking people have given wonderful response in most cases. But the less intelligent, either from lack of appreciation or lack of money have been very slow in taking hold, so that one would feel that the message delivered to them was merely bread cast upon the water, with the hope that it might be gathered after many days.

I think a similar plan could be worked out among the white people of the country, through a Bureau for the Distribution of Negro Literature, whose purpose would be to make out a speaker's itinerary, arrange dates for public addresses in churches, schools, and from public platforms of any kind. These public addresses could be followed by some one who could sell magazines to the people, distribute printed matter, and personally visit the homes of whatever people there were in the audience who expressed an interest in purchasing the books.

As to libraries, I feel sure that books could be gotten into them through personal effort. Miss Florence Pamplin, of Danville, Ill., was instrumental in getting the public library to put in a two-foot shelf of books. A recent letter from her says that "they went like hot cakes," so that when she went to borrow one for her own use, they were all out.

The Dunbar Club of Evanston purchased a shelf nearly two years ago, and donated them to the public library of that very important suburb of Chicago. I was told that the white people of that city immediately took a great interest in them.

Tuesday, the 14th day of June, I had the pleasure of driving from Kansas City to Lawrence, Kansas, to deliver a shelf to the library of the University of Kansas. This came about through the request of Miss Davis, one of the colored students there. She wrote to Mrs. Myrtle Cook of Kansas City, Mo., who spoke to the City Federation Forum concerning it. The President of the City Federation, Mrs. Wood, put the matter into the hands of Mrs. Maggie Clay, the Chairman of her Educational Committee, who succeeded in getting donations to the amount of $25.00, the price of the shelf. One woman, after I had finished speaking to the forum, immediately donated $10.00, nearly half of the amount needed.

Personally I have succeeded in getting a number of books into the libraries at St. Louis and Gary, Indiana. I think these are the only places in which I have made such an effort, my attention being directed to the rank and file of the colored people, with the hope that they themselves would purchase them and read them. I found that in Louisville where they have two colored Branch Libraries, that the better class of people who owned homes and were able to purchase books, would frequently hide behind the statement that they had them in both of their branch libraries, when the truth of the matter was that there were only two copies in each of them, which when distributed would make about one copy for about ten or fifteen thousand people. The result was that the people were generally ignorant about their own racial accomplishments.

One of the best ways of reaching the thinking, influential white people, is through the medium of the colored servant. During my five years of driving over the country I have gone into the servants' quarters of many of the white residences, where they would say that they were not only going to buy the books and read them themselves, but were going to give them to their employer, or leave them where they would be sure to pick them up. I found that people who were working around homes were generally of a fair degree of intelligence, and were able to buy books because most of their living expenses were taken care of by the people for whom they worked. It is also true that this class of people has a great influence among whites, and can get their attention much more quickly than those who do not see them at such close quarters. I found these people very reliable, and felt sure that when they invited me to come to their places of employment that they meant to help along in a definite way the cause I was representing.

As to the newspapers, I have given them very little attention so far. But I feel quite sure that personal work will reach publishers and editors, as well as other people; at least it would not be amiss to try.

Another method might be well worth our consideration; the white people who toil in schools and social service organizations for our people are sometimes able to do much good. This winter while in Nashville I met a woman who had gotten out a small book called "Handicapped Winners," her purpose being to place it into the hands of white children, especially of her own church denomination, of which she was chairman of the Board of Missions. The book told many things about what colored people had accomplished, some things of which I myself was ignorant. She gave me a copy of the book, and frequently when I am asked to address classes in the High Schools and Colleges, I use it as a basis for my talks.

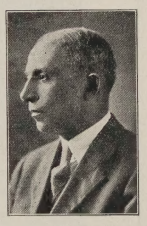
I think the greatest thing needed along this line is a Bureau for the Distribution of Negro Literature, properly financed, until it can be made to support itself. Through

(*Continued on Page* 169)

NEGRO LAND-GRANT COLLEGES

By ROBERT SHAW WILKINSON, A.M., Ph.D.

President State Agricultural and Mechanical College, Orangeburg, S. C.



DR. WILKINSON

In the past decade we have seen greater changes in educational facilities than occurred in all preceding years. Any book on physics, electricity, or astronomy written seven years ago is out of date. Any geography or history written seven years ago is spineless today. Any philosopher or padagog of seven years ago is nerveless. Any book on chemistry, biology or sociology written ten years ago is comedy, and any book on agriculture, home economics, or industrial vocations written seven years ago is now a tragedy.

A freedom unimagined twenty-five years ago has come, and our problem as educators is to hold it as much in check as possible, so that it may not destroy the foundations of true intellectual desires by its most alluring, easy passive pleasures; its springy jazz music, insinuated with an artificial and cheap sophistication, suggesting eternal happiness.

To accomplish this the Land-Grant Colleges are endeavoring not only to produce citizens who shall have mastered certain subjects, but to somehow train them to contribute character and intelligence towards the solving of their problems. We are seeking in our curricula, not universal knowledge, but the opening up of the mind to a catholic appreciation of the best achievements of men and the best processes of thought since the days of thought set in.

Though Congress stipulated in the Morrill Act of 1862 that colleges should be established for instruction in those branches that were "related to agriculture and mechanic arts in order to promote the liberal and practical education of the industrial classes in the several pursuits and professions of life," and later on held, that "instruction in the industries for women was included in instruction in agriculture and mechanic arts," colored people did not share in this liberal educational program until the Morrill Act of 1890 provided an equable share of the Federal Fund for Land-Grant Colleges to be founded for them in States having separate schools for the races.

As so far back as 1857, however, two Negro Land-Grant Colleges were organized; namely, the Agricultural and Mechanical College for Negroes at Normal, Alabama; and the Agricultural and Normal School, at Pine Bluff, Arkansas. Most of them have existed since 1895.

The general development of Negro Land-Grant College has been phenomenal, keeping pace with the growth in vocational education that has taken place throughout the country in recent years. There has been a pronounced tendency, in other words, to adapt the curriculum, in so far as possible, to the varying needs of individuals and to make available the type of education that will meet the desires of the greater numbers of persons by giving due recognition to their individual differences in native, physical and mental capacities and, in aims and ambitions of life.

"*Each science or branch of science,*" states Sir Julian Huxley, "*seems roughly to go through three main phases in its development. There is first a preliminary phase in which miscellaneous sporadic knowledge is amassed and dated; theories are pursued, often only to prove valueless. There then comes a classical heroic age, in which a general foundation of firmly interrelated principles is gradually laid down, upon which in its turn a coherent architecture of theory can be built; and finally this passes into a period of maturity, in which the position is consolidated, the scope of the principles widened, their bases more firmly tested, and their consequences worked out in fullest detail. Naturally each stage lasts for a considerable time, and in many cases a science which thought itself securely embarked upon the third phase is reminded by some fundamental discovery that it is still only in the second.*"

Along such lines, in a measure, the Negro Land-Grant Colleges have developed. Their preliminary stage, from 1890 to 1910, was characterized by incoherency or valueless theories, suggested from time to time by political, private and denominational control. It should be noted, however, to the credit of those concerned, that a few Southern States had made some beginning toward adequate provision for these institutions, with modern buildings and suitable equipment, under the idealism of Negro leaders such as Hiram R. Revels, former United States Senator from Mississippi; John M. Langston, Member of Congress from Virginia; R. R. Wright, of Georgia; William H. Councill, of Alabama; and later, Thomas E. Miller, of South Carolina.

Prior to 1910 very few of these colleges had made any great progress in physical plant and equipment. Elementary and secondary departments constituted arenas of instruction. The teaching staff was inferior in quality and small in number, for the States were not very liberal in providing salaries for instructors. And it was natural, therefore, that faculty should be small and well-trained teachers a lamentable scarcity.

Statistics afford no exact comparison, for though some went ahead rapidly, a few remained practically dormant. While reports seemed to indicate a very gradual improvement in their plants and equipment during this stage, the progress of most of them was slow, due to misconceived objectives and inefficient administration.

From 1910 to 1920 came the classic or heroic age, during which a general foundation was laid down for stable coherency. Optimists forecasted an era of good national feeling, the world was being made safe for democracy; and in the cold, gray dawn of an inconclusive peace these institutions realized "a new birth of freedom." Various philanthropic funds and agencies now began to generously aid the Land-Grant Colleges in summer schools for teachers, by means of which they were successful in broadening the culture and renewing the inspiration of public school teachers. Without the sympathy and cooperation of these organizations the work would have been much more difficult, if not impossible.

During the heroic age there was practically a universal increase in the number of students. Though at the outset, elementary and secondary departments were maintained, these were almost entirely eliminated to make room for a large enrollment in higher classes. This increased attendance in higher departments was encouraging to those who believe that scientific training in agriculture, mechanics and home economics, was very much in demand by the colored people; which fact was also especially gratifying since the increase was in no instance, harmful to other types of institutions for the higher education of Negro youth.

The age of maturity dawned in 1920. It brought consolidated positions, increased supervision and admistration and tested policies, characterized by rapid growth and development. These changes found expression at the Atlanta Conference on Negro Education, November, 1920, which disclosed the fact that democratic education was a misnomer unless it included the Negro. From that time on permanent improvement programs involving expenditures up to $150,000 annually produced substantial buildings and other physical equipment at these colleges in several States. There have been notable instances of even greater amounts. West Virginia recently appropriated $500,000.00 to its Negro Land-Grant College for permanent improvements. North Carolina, $600,000.00, Texas and Tennessee have exceeded $300,000.00 for similar needs within the last three years and South Carolina appropriated more than $250,000.00. These appropriations, despite the adoption of economical programs by these states, not only show an increasing appreciation of the necessity of adequate provisions for the training of Negro youth, but have served as inspirations to others after the manner of holy writ: "I have given you an example that you should do as I have done."

The maturity of these Institutions may be indicated by the following data including June 1925: Value of plants, $7,979,848.00; permanent buildings, 192; Acreage, 5291, of which 2080 are under cultivation and last year yielded crops valued at $75,086.00; revenue from states $1,455,260.00, federal and other sources $1,900,000.00; teachers, 586, of whom 323 are college graduates; students 134,600, distributed in practice school 1,572; secondary school 4,047; collegiate courses 2,169; Summer school 5,904; vocation-agricultural 579; home economics, 2,138; trades 1,215; commercial 101. Professional courses—agricultural 203; home economics 508; trades 302.

Their libraries contain 44,530 bound volumes. According to standard ratings of the respective states six Colleges are in the A class, two in the B, and one has Junior College classification.

It is a fact worthy of commendation that the teaching personnel of these institutions has almost universally improved in quality as well as quantity. Their faculties consists of men and women rained in the best universities of the country—Bradley Institute of Technology, Brown, Boston, Clark, Colgate, Columbia, Cornell, DePauw, Purdue, Harvard, New York, Ohio State, Syracuse, Temple, California, Chicago, Colorado, Illinois, Oregon, Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, and Yale Universities, Connecticut A. and M. College, Iowa State Col-

lege, Kansas State Agricultural College, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Michigan State Agricultural College, Rhode Island State College, Emerson College of Oratory, the University of Durham, England, and Pennsylvania State College. When it is remembered that all of these are colored men and women, working under the direction of colored presidents, we must agree that these colleges now represent the educational leadership of the Race in this Country. The faculties, however, are yet far too small and the proportion of well-trained teachers is not as large as it should be.

These colleges have also shown great desire and capacity to serve the people. Recently every effort has been put forth to meet the urgent demand for more and better teachers for public schools in urban and rural communites. The people are in woeful need of trained teachers, and the Land-Grant Colleges are endeavoring to meet this need through their normal schools and their summer schools for teachers. No greater service could be rendered American Democracy than this, as the Land-Grant College is the logical head of the State public school system in almost every instance. If it be true, as Wells remarks in his "Outline of History" that "Education is the fine net with which democracy fishes for human talent," then it does seem very important that those who manipulate the nets should be well trained and there should be a sufficient number working among the Negro people in order that no talent be lost.

Furthermore the Negro Land-Grant Colleges have co-ordinated on these fundamentals, (1) Efficient elementary schools, housed in suitable buildings and taught by competent teachers; (2) The development of elementary and high schools, and the furnishing of suitable material for the Agricultural and Mechanical College; (3) The elevation of these Colleges to the work of College grade, and the conferring of proper degrees upon graduates from four year College Courses; (4) The training of students to work successfully in the different trades and industries in which Negro men and womeni earn their livelihood and to at least carry their individual load in society; (5) Giving the leading place to scientific and practical agriculture, with the best prepared teachers available, and with ample equipment for laboratories, stock raising and agricultural implements; (6) That since the home is the most important institution in our society the department of Home Economics should be organized fully to meet the needs of as many as possible; (7) The stimulating of students with a desire and determination to own their farms; (8) The teaching of lessons of honesty, truthfulness, square dealing and morality; (9) The making of the Negro Land-Grant Colleges head-quarters of all Extension work among Negroes under direction of their Presidents—the purpose being to carry the Colleges to adults by demonstrating the best methods of operating farms successfully and making homes comfortable. Fifteen of these Colleges are centers of Extension Work in Agriculture and Home Economics under the Smith-Lever Act in co-operation with the white A. & M. College. Sixteen of them have revenues from the Smith-Hughes Act providing for Vocational training in Agriculture, Trades and Home Economics; preparing teachers of these subjects for the public schools and in some instances supervising their work.

In addition the Negro Land-Grant Colleges are being rapidly equipped and operated so as to give much "Liberal Education" as possible along with vocational training and specialized teaching. Culture and refinement are not being overlooked.

Model school buildings are being erected in connection with normal departments; for it is generally concluded that successful teaching can best be carried on by those professionally trained. Teachers of Agriculture, Home Economics, and the Mechanic Arts are not exceptions.

Negroes are coming to look to the Land-Grant College for assistance and cooperation in their educational advancement and social strivings. Everywhere the movement is directed toward establishing intimate relationship between these institutions and their communities through extension courses and opportunities for students other than those regularly enrolled.

In this connection they are contributing in a larger measure to the development of the natural resources of the South, by a deeper interest in agriculture, trades and industries. These are bound to have a favorable influence on all phases of the economic life of the South.

While there has been criticism of the work of these colleges in years gone by and in some instances from sources which are supporting educational interests, it may be said without fear of contradiction that the power and influence of their educational progress has not only swept out of its path all reactionary forces which attempted to impede their onward march, but has also challenged and brought to their support men and women of the country most interested in the promotion of our ideals for a sound progressive system of utilitarian education.

Negro Land-Grant Colleges

Agricultural and Mechanical College for Negroes, Normal, Ala.

Agricultural, Mechanical and Normal School, Pine Bluff, Ark.

State College for Colored Students, Dover, Del.

Florida Agricultural and Mechanical College for Negroes, Tallahassee, Fla.

Georgia State Industrial College, Savannah, Ga.

Kentucky Normal and Industrial Institute for Colored, Frankfort, Ky.

Southern University, Baton Rouge, La.

Princess Anne Academy, Princess Anne, Md.

Alcorn Agricultural and Mechanical College, Alcorn, Miss.

Lincoln University, Jefferson City, Mo.

Negro Agricultural and Technical College, Greensboro, N. C.

Colored Agricultural and Normal University, Langston, Okla.

Colored Normal, Industrial and Mechanical College, Orangeburg, S. C.

Agricultural and Industrial State School, Nashville, Tenn.

Prairie View State Normal and Industrial College, Prairie View, Tex.

Virginia Normal and Industrial Institute, Petersburg, Va.

West Virginia Collegiate Institute, Institute, W. Va.

Home Office Group
525-7-9 North 2nd Street
Richmond, Va.

CONDENSED STATEMENT

Southern Aid Society of Virginia, Inc.

Income 1926

Cash Balance, 1-1-26	$ 289,424.81
Premiums and Sundry Accts.	914,868.26
Total	$1,204,293.07

Disbursements 1926

Paid to Policyholders	$ 380,453.39
Investments and other accts.	430,514.44
Cash Bal., Dec. 31, 1926	393,325.24
Total	$1,204,293.07

Assets

Cash Accts.	$ 393,425.24
Mortgages, Bonds & Stocks	164,077.11
Real Estate	374,801.96
Bills Receivable, Accrued Int. and Rent	13,825.57
Total	$ 946,129.88

Liabilities

Capital Stock (fully paid)	$ 100,000.00
Deposits of Employees, and Sundry Accts.	54,608.64
Policy Reserve	275,000.00
Surplus	516,521.24
Total	$ 946,129.88

Capital and Surplus..... $616,521.24
Claims Paid Policyholders. $4,396,108.79

Southern Aid Society of Virginia

Incorporated

Home Office:

525-7-9 North 2nd St.
Richmond, Va.

THE AFRAMERICAN ACADEMY

ALICE DUNBAR-NELSON

Hailing originally from New Orleans, Mrs. Nelson has taught school there, in Brooklyn, N.Y., Washington, D. C., and in Wilmington, Del. She has written much for various magazines and newspapers. At present she is writing for the Washington Eagle and The Messenger. She is occasionally active in politics but subscribes to no particular political faith. She is regarded by most newspaper folk as one of the ablest columnists in the United States.

W. ROLLO WILSON

Dr. Wilson, besides being the equal of the cleverest sports writers in the country, has been "actively engaged in his Pharmacy for 50 weeks a year for 18 years." He has been reporter and columnist for the Franklin (Pa.) Evening News-Herald, associate editor of the late lamented Pittsburgh American, sports writer for the Public Journal, and served as Deputy Athletic Commissioner of Pennsylvania. He has covered more major sports events than any other Negro sports writer. Mr. Wilson was born in Franklin, Pa., lives in Philadelphia, and writes "Sports Shots" for The Pittsburgh Courier each week.

WILLIAM M. KELLY

Hailing originally from Tennessee, Mr. Kelly, after working on the staff of New York News, New York Dispatch, Champion Magazine and Pearson's Magazine, became Editor-in-Chief of the New York Amsterdam News in 1922. His dynamic and intelligent influence was immediately felt. He has set a high journalistic standard and is giving New York one of the best Negro newspapers in the world. He carries his 33 years lightly and is a most engaging fellow.

DRUSILLA DUNJEE HOUSTON

The author of "Wonderful Ethiopians of the Cushite Empire" has gained wide reputation through her writings on African civilization. She is a prolific writer, and has ready for the press three more volumes of "Wonderful Ethiopians," two volumes on "Ethiopians of the New World," a volume of poems and a volume of essays. She has been president of the Oklahoma Training School and Dean of the Oklahoma Baptist University. Born in Virginia, Mrs. Houston lives in Oklahoma and devotes her time exclusively to writing.

NEVAL H. THOMAS

As president of the Washington Branch of the N. A. A. C. P., Mr. Thomas, a native of Ohio, is continuing with unflagging vigor and intelligence the war on segregation and all of its attendant evils. Although for many years a school teacher in a segregated school system, Mr. Thomas never allowed the vision of fleeting pay check to dampen his enthusiasm in the struggle for full equality in all fields of endeavor and the abolition of jim crowism everywhere.

NEGRO DISTANCE RUNNERS

By DR. EDWIN B. HENDERSON

Head of the Department of Physical Training in the High Schools, Washington, D. C.

FOR a long time it was supposed that Colored athletes lacked endurance. They made good sprinters. Few of them did well beyond the double furlong distance. Hence they lacked in some of the qualities white men were supposed to possess. Distance running requires training. No matter how good a runner may eventually be, few of them can compete with a man who knows his race and can judge his pace. Nurmi and many late day runners carry a watch or have a bystander call the time of laps. A man may have great sprint ability but he cannot run in sprint rate and run far. A Colored boy who could start with a bunch from a century dash scratch, and lead them to the tape, at once got the eye of the coach, but not so the purveyor of distance wares. The coach has to try him out with time and patience. This is one reason why many of our boys have not been distance champions. We have had exceptions, however. Colored school competition has not brought out many longer distance records. Years ago five minutes was good time for a mile. Henry Penn in the old I. S. A. A. games at Howard in 1908 turned 4:59 for a school boy mile. The writer once ran it in 4:40 and the times have not been much better. But when our athletes run against white competitors times begin to get fast.

DR. E. B. HENDERSON

The first colored track athlete in New England Colleges was Sherman T. Jackson, formerly principal of M Street High School. Mr. Jackson hails from Alexandria, Va. He and Attorney William Lewis received their first preparatory schooling in Petersburg Normal School. Lewis lived in Norfolk, Va. President John M. Langston of Petersburg introduced Mr. Jackson to the late Senator Hoar who urged him to go to Amherst College. There he and Lewis matriculated in 1890. Both became famed as football players—Lewis at center and Jackson at left half—the first race players in those colleges. Both received flattering press notices even though for a time Lewis was a "Spaniard" and Jackson was other than a Virginia colored man. Jackson and Lewis were college mates of Coolidge. Coolidge has on several occasions during his sojourn in Washington invited Mr. and Mrs. Jackson to call since being President. The invitation was accepted, and the old days recalled when Jackson was a bigger idol than John Coolidge. Since his college days Mr. Jackson has directed several M Street and Dunbar boys to Amherst. Among them are Edward Gray, a great half back in his day, John Pinkett, now with the National Benefit Ins. Company, and all-New England center, and Charles Drew, one of the best half backs in New England and schoolmate of President Coolidge's son,

Mr. Jackson won the half mile in 1890 in the New England Intercollegiate in 2:08, and in 1892 won again in 2:03. After leaving college Mr. Jackson developed and conducted the first field and track games for our school boys in 1900 in Washington, D. C., in the Armory of the old M Street High School.

At Dartmouth, Harold and Leo Granger from New Jersey did creditable running at middle distance and cross country. At Harvard University Johnny Jones was recognized as first class in cross country running. Victor Daly, in his high school days around New York, was a captain of the track team and specialized in the distance events. Dudley Lee, now of Howard University and formerly of Amherst, was an 880 and mile winner in many college races.

M. Montague Cobb, formerly of Amherst now in Howard Medical School, was a splendid cross country and mile runner. He holds the Amherst Cross Country record and was second in the New England 2 mile run in 1923.

The graduate manager of the University of Pittsburgh writes in glowing terms of Gerald Allen of the class of 1923, whose record of one minute, 58 and 2/5 seconds still stands as the University record. William Murray, of the Metropolitan district, was a brilliant runner of ten years ago, but he did not measure with the latest essayers of the distance game. Phillip Edwards of New York University has placed a third in all the important intercollegiate cross-country races in the past two years. He promises well. John Carroll, of the Vocational School of Baltimore, is a runner of no mean ability.

SHERMAN T. JACKSON

The most outstanding of real distance runners is Earl Johnson, recreation worker in the E. Thompson Steel Plant of Pennsylvania. He represented America at the Olympic Games and was National Cross Country Champion in 1921. Johnson was a pioneer in the field of real distance running, and his successful feats have challenged the admiration, and stimulated the endeavor, of thousands of his fellow countrymen to excel in a field in which a Colored athlete was not supposed to succeed. But he is through.

Leading the performers of the Afro-American group of today is Gus Moore, now of St. Bonaventure College of New York State. Very little has been known of St. Bonaventure until recently when Charlie Major beat Osbourne for the A. A. U. high jump title, and Moore matriculated. Moore's name topped the list of distance runners for several years in high school circles in New York. He holds the national high school record for the mile in and out of doors and for the 2½ miles cross country race. Beginning where the veteran, Earl Johnson was leaving off, Gus has been proving unmistakably the ability of the Colored boy to stand the gaff of the more gruelling runs. Since leaving high school and entering the longer distance runs Moore has done equally well. In one of his latest six mile efforts he was beaten only by Willie Ritola and Phillip Osif of international fame. Last year Moore defeated the French champion, R. Wraith in the Cathedral Meet. In the Niagara District Moore was first three times in one night's running, in the mile, the 1,000 yards race and as anchor man on the relay team. The best mile of his career was the Casey Mile of the K. of C. games the past winter. The men who led him to the tape were: Lloyd Hahn, American champion, in 4:12 1/5; Edwin Wide, Swedish champion, conqueror of Nurmi, in 4:12 3/5; Joseph Sivak, Western champion; James Connelly, former collegiate champion, 4:15 4/5. Moore's time for the event was 4:18—just 6 seconds slower than the world's record. Moore knows the value of training and keeping fit. He senses the fact that thousands of American boys of our racial group glow with pride in noting his name among the winners. He has expressed to the writer his intention of living in the best of condition. If every race man and boy could appreciate the fearless reliant attitude of men like Gourdain, Hubbard, Moore and hundreds others when in competition with the best America affords, in the struggling game of athletic racing, lick-spittle Negroism would be a thing of the past. It takes "guts" for a distance runner to pass the gallery turn after turn, hearing the jibes of some prejudiced partisan, and though trailing behind, finish a race without the sickness of heart that comes to the feeble souls. Athletes like Johnson and Moore, and Jackson in his day, have done much to win the public over to tolerance and away from their prejudices.

TEXT BOOKS IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS

A JOB FOR THE NEGRO WOMAN

By ALICE DUNBAR-NELSON

Women's Clubs and Federations of Clubs, state and national usually have a prescribed program which they aim to carry out each year. That is the assumption. If there are any clubs at present, which have not yet pledged themselves to a definite plan, a big job is awaiting them. The text books of the schools need revision at the hands of the Negroes in this country.

It is an axiom that prejudice is taught, not inherited. That the training of the child determines its future attitude towards races, as well as nations. That the lessons inculcated in school have a large influence on the behavior of grown men and women. "Give me the child before seven," says the Jesuit, "and you may have him the rest of his life, but he will be mine."

That is the root of the objection to segregated schools, or that worse than crime, segregated rooms in a building. For the Nordic or Latin child is being taught subtly, but, oh, so carefully that the dark-skinned Aframerican is of a class apart, and inferior. The lesson is ingrained. Later in life it shapes itself in silly and cruel laws and sillier behavior toward the shadowed tenth of the nation.

Dr. Carter Woodson has succeeded in popularizing the idea which some of us older ones have had for some time—the teaching of Negro history and literature as a means of inculcating pride of race in our own children, and respect for us as a people by the other races. We are committed to the use of histories of the Negro in whatever schools we can get to adopt them; to the celebration of Negro History Week; to the use of poems, stories, drama by our own in the teaching of literature. And we still hope to educate the white child to a wholesome appreciation of our own racial worth by having such books placed in the hands of teachers of groups of white children.

We are reminded of a crusade begun some time since by earnest agitators here and there, against pernicious text books in history and geography which depicted the Negro only in savage guise—Hottentot and Bushman. We are grateful to the Bostonians who had the Board of Education remove the word "darky" from the school singing books. We remember the daughter of Dr. R. R. Wright, in Philadelphia, who protested effectively against her school geography, with its comic pictures of the "Black Race." These earlier efforts have been effective in some degree. Indeed, one later reference book in school history, in depicting the great races of mankind, chose Booker Washington as the exemplar of the Negro or black race, in spite of the fact that Dr. Washington was yellow-brown, with blue-gray eyes.

But the subtle, damnable work of poisoning the child mind against the Negro goes blithely on. That all races realize the danger in allowing propaganda to enter text books is evidenced by the rabid attacks here and there upon some school text book which includes or omits something held to be of vital importance in the formation of opinions of the adult-to-be. The whole fight against the teaching of evolution in the schools is aimed at the preservation of a certain attitude of mind in the citizen of the country, in order that he may be more economically and politically pliant. Recently the American Historical Society sent a report to Mayor Dever of Chicago on the "spirit of contemptuous hostility toward vital characters, events and ideals hitherto held sacred in American history" to be found in certain well-known histories and readers used in the Chicago public schools. A demand was made that the Mayor ban these dangerous texts.

Let us examine briefly a very few of the books which are fostering a dangerous attitude in the mind of both white and colored children at the present time. The texts quoted are those in use in Northern schools. Southern school books are expected to glorify the Confederacy, and avow that the Negro was happier as a slave.

"King Cotton is very exacting toward his subjects. Many thousands of families earn almost their entire livelihood by working in the cotton fields. Hardly any negro child is too small, or any negro Uncle or Mammy too old or too feeble to help in this work." (Kindly note the capitals.) McMurry and Parkins Elementary Geography.

"The picking of the cotton crop done by negro men, women and children is the most expensive operation connected with cotton growing." (Illustration of shabby Negroes in cotton field. Quite different from neat farmers or fruit pickers in other illustrations.)

Of the division of Africa—"When properly educated to the use of the white man's goods, the immense population there will form a great market for European manufactures."

Of Abyssinia: "The inhabitants have made little advance because they have kept themselves shut up—. There is only one Abyssinian school in Abyssinia! It has about 100 pupils. In spite of its present backward condition, it ought, with proper development to become one of the richest portions of Africa." Of Liberia: "The government is copied after ours, but only negroes are allowed to vote." These extracts from McMurray and Parkins Advanced Geography.

"The limestone belt in central Alabama is called the 'Black Belt.' The soil is black and so are most of the people—negro tenant farmers, each renting a few acres of the rich black earth.

"In the large British colony of Nigeria, there is only one white man to every six thousand black men, but these white men have managed to rule. When a people joins in world trade, the trade wipes out the household industries. It is easier for a white man to rule the natives when they depend upon the foreigner for a market, and upon the white man's store for supplies." From "Human Geography," by J. Russell Smith.

"Affairs in the Southern States grew far worse after the Fifteenth Amendment was put in force. In some states the legislatures included many former slaves. Many of these men were densely ignorant as well as dishonest. In South Carolina there were two hundred negro judges who could not read or write. The 'carpet-baggers' and the corrupt negro politicians conspired together and plundered the state treasuries in every way they could think of."

"The charge of San Juan Hill became famous, because of an especially fine record made there by the 'Rough Riders.' These men valiantly aided the regulars, and were led by Lt. Col. Theodore Roosevelt." (No mention made that the 'regulars' were Negroes.) From Thwaites and Kendall's History of the United States. "Many of the freedmen (former slaves) refused to work and wandered aimlessly about the country or drifted into the towns where they were often disorderly and sometimes criminal."

"There were counties in Mississippi in which not a single justice of the peace could write his name. Only 22 out of 155 members of one legislature in South Carolina could read or write."

"In a few years the carpet-baggers and their negro followers brought most of the southern states to the verge of financial ruin."

"Under the influence of their leaders from the North, the negroes began to think that they were the social equals of their former masters, and to demand the right to ride in the same cars, to live at the same hotels, and to send their children to the same schools as the white people."

"If a tree may be judged by its fruit, the action of Congress in giving the right to vote to all *the freedmen in the South at once was one of the most unwise and harmful policies ever adopted in our country.*"

From "The Making of Our Country," by Smith Burnham. Of the invention of the cotton gin: "By working a whole day a negro (presumably no other being) could only clean about a pound. By using this new machine a negro could easily clean at least 300 pounds of cotton a day."

"Now the Southern planters and the Northern manufacturers both found it to their interest to keep the negro in bondage since by his labor, they were rapidly growing rich." From "The Leading Facts of American History," by D. H. Montgomery.

These are but a few, a very few examples of the kind of vicious propaganda which is poisoning the minds of millions of little children and laying the seeds for race contempt and that superiority complex, which unfortunately is not confined to Anglo-Saxons, but is equally engrained in the minds of Latins and Semites. The omission of Crispus Attucks' name from the thrilling stories of the Boston Massacre, or of Estovanico from the Coronado expedition,

(*Continued on Page* 169)

NEGRO WOMANHOOD'S GREATEST NEEDS

A SYMPOSIUM

Conducted by the leading Negro clubwomen of the United States

By the use of the term "Negro Womanhood," the black woman is forced out of the realm of womanhood to be treated separately. And yet she is a part of womanhood. She needs the same advantages as do all other women. The limitation is a handicap. It has kept race-prejudice and race-consciousness alive. It is true that the Negro-woman was exploited for more than two hundred years, but exploitation is a two-edged sword, it cuts both ways; the exploiter is equally degraded. It was *education* that influenced nations to wipe out exploitation. *Education* then, in my opinion, is the greatest need of Negro womanhood today. I shall divide the subject into three parts.

First, Moral and Ethical Education: No group of people or nation can long survive without the qualifications of good character, the very first essential of humanity. Character is the very foundation of civilization. Nations have risen and fallen through a lack of the realization of this great truth, and nations will continue to fall where character is wanting.

Second, Academic and Vocational Education: These phases of education are necessary for the development of womanhood. The Negro woman needs it for a fuller understanding of life. She needs it for a fuller co-operation with her own kind, and for a fuller co-operation with mankind in general. She needs all this for the intelligent birth and bringing-up of her children. She needs it for her own sake and for her country's sake.

Third, Homemaking Education: The Negro woman needs training in the technique of homebuilding. In the knowledge of homebuilding, are included home economics, food preparation, clothing and household fabrics, the care of children, the distribution of finances, social economics, and the budgeting of time so as to permit of an opportunity for reading and recreation.

All these departments of education with their ramifications, spell *efficiency*. *Efficiency* will make the world forget about the dark pages of history of the Negro woman, as it has made the world forget about the dark pages of history of the Anglo-Saxon woman. *Efficiency* requires time.

(Mrs.) Nettie J. Asberry
Tacoma, Washington

Now that the colleges, universities and seminaries are teeming with our young women who are eager to play their part in life's drama, eager to give to her race and to the world the best she has, her greatest need is opportunity for development. However high the ideals of our women, they must have an outlet for expansion or they will become dwarfed and finally wither or decay. That the Negro woman of today needs the opportunity afforded other racial groups is seen by the hundreds of them who have made the necessary preparation for life's race, but are deprived of entrance through the gateway. This fact, however, must not deter our women from equipping themselves. Capability, efficiency and preparation along all lines must be the entering wedge to higher and better opportunities for the Negro womanhood of today.

Wherever our women have served, they have made good. Hundreds of them are filling positions of trust reflecting credit not only on themselves and their race but they are breaking down the bars of discrimination and segregation which have hitherto handicapped them and stunted their growth, impeded their progress in the march of advancement, therefore, my opinion is, that the greatest need of the Negro womanhood of today is opportunity.

(Mrs.) M. C. Lawton,
Brooklyn, N. Y.

The one outstanding need of Negro Womanhood today is prepared leadership. Some leaders are born, some are inspired, and some have it thrust upon them. But regardless of whatever way you have fallen heir to this position in life, we urge that you make preparation for the task.

We are passing through a period of unrest and it has been rightly called the Jazz Age with its noise, speed and disgust. Women are less discreet and less cautious today than her sisters in years gone by. They may not be worse but we have come to the "Don't Care" stage and have lost the timidity and modesty peculiar to pure womanhood of yesterday. Women have lost respect for themselves and are rebelling against the laws of God and man.

Here is where we are needing leaders who have been consecrated and inspired of God who will not be afraid to face the problems of today and do all they can to help make the world a decent place to live in.

In every vocation today we are in need of Prepared Leadership.

Claudine Jonnson Bass,
Little Rock, Ark.

The greatest need of any people or any sex is sincerity and loyalty. We lose much by looking at ourselves, by grasping the main chance, instead of regarding humanity as our life and soul. Sincerity is productive of the greatest culture and culture feeds womanhood as well as manhood. If we are sincere we easily grasp truth, and as is well known, there is no existence that is not founded upon truth.

The work of Negro woman is in lifting up that portion of the American people that suffers at least a half-century handicap in the race of civilization. When Abraham Lincoln dipped his pen into the blood of the martyrs of the civil war, still in progress, and attached his immortal signature to that great instrument of liberty—he did not free the Negro woman; slavery had placed a ban upon her as a human soul that nothing but her own virtuous hand could lift. We found her, sinned against far more than she had sinned, but today, given equal opportunity for advancement, intellectually, morally and spiritually, she can stand four square to the winds of destiny unashamed and unafraid before the womanhood of the entire world.

Education is one of the greatest needs of our womanhood today. It will not do for us to sit by and say we are not interested. It must be from our hearts that we make sacrifices. And along with education must be associated character building. We are trying to show to the world that we are American citizens with God-given rights. The only reason we shall fail is on account of ourselves. Our young women must have unblemished character and untarnished names along with their education. Education without character is as a rose without a scent.

I would favor that our younger women, while their minds are yet tender, be acquainted fully with the careers of our great women, both living and dead. There is more to be gained from learning of the struggles of such as Sojourner Truth, Harriet Tubman, Phyllis Wheatley, Frances Harper and Madame C. J. Walker than there is in knowing the details concerning some ephemeral motion picture star or some person prominent in the scandal pages.

Woman must also be trained in the economic and financial world. The successful business woman does not lose any of her grace and charm. It is she who has worked side by side with the great financial leaders who knows best how to manage the household budget, and by force of habit, she keeps the linen closet as orderly as an office file.

No longer do we find women employed as merely stenographers and clerks, but they are assuming greater responsibilities, such as bank presidents, manufacturers, real estate brokers, lawyers and philosophers—a solid phalanx of a mighty army, determined to break down every barrier that is between her and the enjoyment of any and every privilege to which her sacrifices for American freedom entitles her.

"One ship sails east,
Another sails west,
In the very same wind that blows,
'Tis the set of the sail and not of the gale
That determines which way she goes.
And so it is with the sea of life.
We all start from the great common shore.
'Tis the set of the soul
That determines the goal
And not the storm or strife."

Ethel Minor Gavin,
Chicago, Ill.

Continued Next Month

THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE BROTHERHOOD

By A. SAGGITARIUS

The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters is arousing an unusual interest throughout the country. In fact, the world is watching its growth with an intensity of feeling far greater than has ever been evinced in any similar appearing movement. Mixed with genuine interest is a great deal of curiosity and speculation. The question met with most often is: "Why should the organizing of a labor union be causing such a furor, and attracting to its ranks so much real talent from widely different groups and phases of development?"

Many plausible answers may be available to the question. In order to get the most comprehensive ones it would be well to watch some of the vital dramas now being enacted throughout the world. China is trying to throw off the yoke of foreign domination in Church and State, under which it has been held so long. Mexico has become restive and concludes that "Mexico for the Mexicans first", would not be a bad slogan to adopt. Nicaragua is no longer willing to remain docile under a government acting as the catspaw for powerful outside influences. Rumblings of discontent are to be heard from every continent and many have crystallized into open revolts, that can no longer be silenced by the statement that the big brother knows best. There can be little doubt that he knows best how to take and keep through trickery, might and hypocrisy what does not belong to him. The struggle is one for human rights; a leaning towards independence; a desire to handle the affairs of a group, by that group and for that group. There is a general disrespect for and disbelief in, the social and economic system under which we live. It is a healthy sign of growth, and merely marks a changing era, and is in no way singular in the history of human progress.

Under our present social and economic system the world war is seen as a necessity. A practical and concrete idea of Brotherhood had to be demonstrated by nature, and no more fitting method could be used. It is true that a series of circumstances brought on a forced condition; but with it also came enlightenment. The germinal idea was duly implanted and the change being experienced now, is the aftermath of the spiritual awakening which is ushering in another cycle and higher ideals.

In the Negro world much is said and written of the "New Negro". While some physical changes may be noted in this group, the most pronounced is in his psychology and newly evolved spirit. Like the rest of the peoples of the world, he is being tested for promotion in the New Cycle and his adaptability to the changing conditions will decide his place in the advancing tide of world progress. It may be of interest to note a few of the general characteristics of the Old Negro and compare them with those of the New Negro. The psychology of the Old Negro was built on a foundation of slavery, and the arrogance and deception of masters bent on exploiting and keeping him in subjection. Thus he believed that his progress depended on the favors of the whites and not in unity with his brothers; that he was inherently inferior to white men in spite of his statements to the contrary; that what he was told by the ruling classes was always true and should be implicitly believed and never questioned; that this is a white world and to be allowed to exist in it at all, is due entirely to the clemency of the whites, and never because he has earned the right to live.

What Answer?

What will the pink man say
When this world is no more
And a man no longer a man
But a spirit impure
Waiting at the court of his God
To answer for the wrongs
He did on the sod?
What will the pink man say?

What will his proud spirit say
When his God should ask him:
"How have you treated your brother,
Your dark brother Jim?"
Will he hang his haughty spirit head
Remembering the tree
And those that he bled?
What will this proud spirit say?

—*E. Lucien Waithe*

Desire

Desire to us
Was like a double death.
Swift dying
Of our mingled breath,
Evaporation
Of an unknown strange perfume
Between us quickly
In a naked room.

—*Langston Hughes*

The New Negro, who is a product of the wrongs of the Old Negro, does not subscribe to any of the above. He believes that all true progress comes from within and not by leaning on others; hence he is determined to help himself through cooperation with his group and all men with liberal views; that he is only inferior when measured by his acts that mark him as such. He questions the sincerity of statements made by those who exploit him, and discards all that cannot bear the light of reason. He believes he has a definite place, wherever he is found, and is ready to fight for its maintenance and improvement.

It is not to be supposed, by the above, that this new element is intolerant or nursing a grievance which is displayed on the least provocation. Quite to the contrary; it is mild, tolerant and seeks through union to bring about those corrective methods that will ensure the rights that are now denied him. Determined to establish in fact the ideal, that merit and not color or creed is the standard by which men should be judged. When it is understood that a forward group in all nations, in the rich as well as the poor, the whites as among the blacks, yellow and red, in the professions as well as the crafts are earnestly engaged in efforts to bring about this condition, a clearer picture of the struggle towards the realization of a better world will be understood. The movement known as the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and Maids is thus seen as a part of the Negroes' contribution to the finer world movement among progressive men. Its attractive force lies in the great spiritual oneness which is a dominant trait. The ideals of truth, faith, justice and hard work that mark its campaign are the signs by which recognition becomes possible and the talisman for entrance to the seeming inaccessible. Its banner bears the emblem "Looking Forward." That is, broadly speaking, the philosophy of the Brotherhood, and it is engaging the attention of men of many callings, because it is a part of their programme. The successful issue will mean added power to a worthy cause. Its failure would mean the weakening of an army fighting along an extremely wide battle front.

As China is doggedly struggling to work out a worthy destiny led by the most advanced of its own race; as Mexico and Nicaragua are working to improve their conditions, through close studies and management of their own affairs: so Negroes through leaders chosen from and by themselves are striving to raise their status among men, by giving to their community and humanity in general the best there is in them. Self expression seems to be the keynote of individuals and groups throughout the world. The simultaneous activities of persons far removed, yet striving for the practical accomplishment of a like ideal points to the propitious time for righting of wrongs generated by unfair governments and selfish business methods.

That great opposition is offered by those whose unjust rule is threatened, is to be expected. That powerful allies are rallying to the support of the cause is merely another evidence of its righteousness, its truth, and its tolerant, if fearless campaign.

It is also true that many who with their descendants would be most benefitted by joining in the good work are antagonistic. Their consciousness has simply not been aroused hence they are not qualifying to be workers in the New Cycle. It has been justly said that the hog will return to his wallow. When a later generation reviews the causes that operated in bringing about the realization of a closely knit humanity —a well defined Brotherhood of man—the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and Maids will be well in evidence. We subscribe to the belief of Charles Sumner who said, "No honest, earnest effort in a good cause can fail."

AFRAMERICAN SNAPSHOTS

Drawn By WILBERT HOLLOWAY

Upper Left: Harlem bootleggers present loving cup to Hon. Fred R. Moore, editor of the *New York Age*, for free advertisement given their establishments in his campaign to make Harlem dry.

Upper Right: Emporer Marcus Garvey, erstwhile lord of the African continent, reduces his waistline by vigorous exercises.

Lower Left: Scene at fashionable Harlem ball when it is announced that detectives have arrived in search of "hot" (stolen) finery.

Center: Senator Lynch of Mississippi, whiles away an hour or so with his children after a strenuous fight in the legislature for the passage of his racial integrity bill.

Lower Right: Full Dinner Pail Lodge No. 1, recruited from the cast of *Lulu Belle*, worships statue of David Belasco as God of Plenty.

THE SCIENCE OF UNCLE REMUS

A REVIEW

By THEOPHILUS LEWIS

FOLK BELIEFS OF THE SOUTHERN NEGRO, Newell Niles Puckett. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, N. C. Price $5.00.

When in the course of human events it becomes necessary for a tolerably well fixed citizen of Detroit or Kansas City to consult the family allopath concerning certain disturbing pains in the region of the belly button, accompanied by an unnatural warmth around the gills, the medical man's first move toward relieving the pathological condition is to diagnose the patient's rating in Bradstreet's. If the victim's bank balance appears to be in a state of decline the physician will prescribe castor oil and some rhubarb mixture, which service, including the pharmacist's extortion, will set him (the victim) back not more than $19.75. On the other hand, if the constitution of the burgher's cheque account seems able to stand the strain the medico will murmur the mystic word "appendicitis" and forthwith the victim will be led forth as a lamb to the slaughter. They will purge his insides with bitter mineral waters, fill his carcass with a nauseous and devitalizing gas, rip him open with murderous instruments, sever his arteries, manhandle his intestines, plant two pairs of scissors and a cache of absorbent cotton in his interior and then sew him up for the ghouls who come after them. This, of course, is a big job and it requires a sizable staff of assassins to accomplish it. Since assassins, like politicians and preachers, work for money and not for love, the following items will be duly and formally lodged against the victim's solvency: Hospital graft $150; professional services of nurse, including her liquor bill, $105; board and valet service for nurse $47; fee for use of torture chamber euphemistically called operating room $15; anaesthetist's emolument $25; surgeon's honorarium, including family doctor's rake off, $800. Being in no condition to offer effective resistance, the victim usually consents to this amputation of his worldly goods without a struggle, after which he gives up the ghost as a result of the ravages of the streptococci which were eating him from the beginning.

This method of treating disease is called science.

Among the Los Angeles people, whose faith in the members of the American Medical Association is nil, the indisposed sub-division magnate is wont to submit his aches and adipose heart to the skill of one of those brisk and businesslike gentlemen who practice the art of healing according to the best precepts of the machine shop. This specialist usually begins his treatment by having his client take off his undershirt and sit in front of a cluster of 27 mazda lights with violet bulbs. It is not on record that sitting in front of a mazda light ever harmed anybody. The second phase of the treatment consists of turning the patient over to a couple of ex-beer wagon drivers whose function is to devote three hours a day to massaging the victim's chest with filets of pickled tripe. With these preliminaries out of the way the main business of the cure begins and during the next fortnight the hapless realtor will spend at least four hours daily to being mauled around a gymnasium, having his toes tickled with a feather duster, being ducked in icy swimming pools, having his spine hammered with a rubber mallet, sweating in a rowing machine, sitting on a cushion of shaved ice with hot water bottles tied to his ankles, sprinting across country and riding a cart horse backwards.

As the treatment is co-ordinated with a rigid system of dieting the paitent's meals are subjected to a close supervision which allows him nothing in excess of a cup of milk, three prunes and a bran muffin for breakfast and one-half of the juice and one-fourth of the rind of an orange and a sawdust wafer for lunch, while for dinner he is permitted to drink four glasses of water and smell the kitchen. The regimen is usually prescribed for one month but statistics show that very few patients survive beyond the 27th day. The usual cause of death is starvation.

Relieving human maladies in this fashion is called quackery.

Down South, and in other places where dock weeds grow jam up to the railroad tracks, the Ethiopian carpet cleaner with a misery in his stomach or having trouble with his girl usually seeks relief and surcease at the hands of the most hideous devil agent he has ever heard of, preferably a homunculus with scrofulous skin and a harelip. After depositing what loose change he has in the conjurer's shoe, the dusky client will depart with a talisman of owl feathers under his left arm, an amulet of snake teeth tied to his right ankle and a charm of tombstone dust dangling from his neck. For internal treatment he will be given a prescription calling for a mixture of puppy hair, hen gall, molasses, barnyard droppings and melted rosin. These ingredients are to be made into a paste and spread on segments of kotex, which segments, in turn, are to be boiled twenty-six minutes in a mixture of vinegar and ox milk which must be constantly stirred with a coffin nail. Thirteen drops of this broth must be swallowed precisely at midnight for thirteen days, standing on the bank of a stream running through a graveyard, with the right food in the water and the left on land, the face to the north and the back to the east while repeating the 109th psalm in three breaths. In about eleven days the victim usually dies of fright.

When infirmity is cured in this manner it is called superstition.

A voluminous report on this last form of gullibility is contained in Prof. Newell Niles Puckett's "Folk Beliefs of the Southern Negro," a heavy tome which runs to almost six hundred pages of text without achieving a single uninteresting paragraph. Prof. Puckett has combined his clinical experiences in Dixie with an exhaustive knowledge of African and European myths and folk notions and the result is a comprehensive encyclopaedia of Aframerican superstition. These weird notions, which derive from our original home in Africa, are at bottom quite as logical as the various forms of Christianity as believed and practiced in Europe. I mean, of course, Christianity as a pure religion divorced from its admirable but rather unwieldy ethical system. Folk notions, like all religions and most philosophies as well, simply illustrate the universal tendency of the human mind to go astray in error after making a relatively sound observation.

"With them," Prof. Puckett writes, meaning the Africans, "the same spirit can be persuaded to work indifferently good or evil, while, with our more moral religion, it is impossible to conceive of God being called upon deliberately to take a direct hand in dastardly enterprises." (See psalm 109.) "With the African," he continues ". . . it is simply a case of the same power being turned to different ends, just as fire may be used for warmth and protection or for burning a neighbor's barn." Certainly this latter idea, in the light of modern thought, is more logical than the Christian belief in a benevolent God who is all powerful but who nevertheless declines responsibility for the crime wave.

Prof. Puckett does not show how favorably the underlying idea of most folk beliefs compare with the basic principle of western religion but neither does he engage in any polemics on the other side. Indeed the strength of his work lies in the fact that while he writes with grace, warmth and a touch of humor he consistently presents his subject in the objective manner of a true scientist. Its value lies in the fact that it is the best and probably the last authentic repository of a body of lore that is fast disappearing from the earth. Folk beliefs thrive only among the denizens of the wide open spaces. When the yokel goes to town and takes up the night club habit or when the city goes to the yokel in the form of a filling station down the road and a brace of radio antenna on his roof he quickly discards his interest in witches and waller-wups and picks up some kind of political or scientific superstition. Up to the present folk beliefs have persisted in the cities because they have been kept alive by migrants constantly coming in from the sticks. But with the increasing suburbanization of the corn lands and pastoral spaces there will be a diminishing inclination to desert the farm for the factory town, and the comparatively few restless souls who change from peasants to proletarians will have been already converted to yogi-ism, swami seances, Coue hokum or Liberal politics long before abandoning the plow. In that not far distant day it will be virtually impossible to discover any considerable body of folk notions which have not been corrupted by the more highfalutin superstitions imported from the Faubourgs. Prof. Puckett, in preserving our own mystic lore in its original picturesque purity, has rendered us a greater service than the philanthropist who donates a million dollars for Y. M. C. A. dormitories.

Read: "What Good Are College Fraternities?" in the June Number

Edito

Opinion of the leading

DURING the World War and the post war period, the demand for labor was high. The chief source of supply was the south from which some half million Negroes migrated.

Migration

On account of lessened industrial activity, the demand for labor has gone down and the movement of Negroes North is much less active.

It has come to our attention that Pullman agents have sought to induce Negroes to come North promising them high wages and roseate working conditions. Many have acted upon these misrepresentations and come North, only to be rudely and sadly disappointed. Evidently they were recruited with a view to intimidating porters joining the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. Few have remained in the service as there was nothing for them to do but hang around the quarters and wait to be sent out on assignments which seldom came. Without money or friends, some have called upon the Brotherhood for aid which has been given. Those that have remained in the service are joining the union.

This condition indicates the necessity for some national organization like the National Urban League or the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to direct migration from the South to the North with a view to its gradual and effective absorption. A blind and planless movement of Negroes North at this or at any time can only result in injury to the migrants, on account of the great difficulty of adjustment in a declining labor market. When necessary, migration should be discouraged. Economic opportunities should be the main determinant in the movement of Negroes North. The masses can not know about industrial opportunities unless they are informed by some agencies that have studied the situation and know the facts. This is a crying need now.

THE gradual development of schools for workers' education is perhaps the most promising phase of the American Labor Movement.

There is a great possibility of a labor movement, like any other institution, losing its soul as a result of its engrossment into practical, technical questions of wage rates, working conditions and the continuing visionless labor leadership of certain groups. A great, powerful efficient labor movement is not sufficient. Its service to the workers is not alone dependent upon power but also upon the direction of power, and the direction of power involves the question of education. But the American Labor Movement needs more than the popular type of education. It needs labor education.

Negro Labor Students

But where will it secure this education? Not in the colleges and universities maintained by rich endowments contributed by big capitalists. While some of the big institutions of learning are more liberal than others, none can freely and adequately teach the workers' viewpoint. The labor viewpoint will only be adequately taught in schools that are financed by Labor. Burkwood and the Rand School of Social Science, are fine instances in proof of this theory.

These schools are not essentially interested in the three R's, but in the origin and development of society, the stages through which it has passed, the roles different classes have played in its development, present tendencies in modern society, and especially the mission and hope of the workers. Without this kind of knowledge, the workers are sadly unprepared spiritually and intellectually to build up an effective, constructive and creative labor movement.

Negroes, more than any other group in America need this type of education, being the most severely exploited of the wage-earners. Thus we commend them to the schools for workers' education. A developing Negro labor movement will need the systematic working class training which these proletarian schools offer. There is a rich working class experience contained in the body of literature on the labor movement which Negroes must avail themselves of. There is also a technique of labor organization, which while not faultless, is valuable, which a growing labor movement should know. This information cannot be easily picked up. One must go to the workers' college to get it.

IT is generally conceded that Governor Alfred Smith of New York, is one of the most efficient and enlightened public officials in the United States. His popularity transcends that of any executive in the history of the Empire State. Nor is it unmerited.

Al Smith and the Presidency

Rising from the ranks, he has exemplified vision, tact and great ability in handling the affairs of a great state. He is neither a reactionary or a radical, but a progressive, in politics. His able administration of New York State has won for him the respect of his enemies and the warm worship of his friends. He is easily the most outstanding man in politics in the country. His political growth has been steady and substantial. Though we are not Democrats, we are capable of recognizing that.

As a result of his commanding political stature, his name is being constantly mentioned as a probable nominee of the Democratic Party for President. In some quarters it has roused fanatical resentments, because of his religious faith. There is a wild-eyed bigotry in the land which presumes to claim that a Catholic President would be a puppet of the Pope. Some petty Protestants seem to think that they have some ordained right in perpetuity over the control of the Presidency. This attitude is in violation of every principle of a true democracy. No religious sect is necessarily the "keeper" of the White House. Its occupant may have any religion or no religion. Surely neither race or religion should serve as a bar to an American citizen holding any office within the gift of the people.

Governor Smith's record shows that he would make as able a president as ever served the American people. This country needs a dramatic lesson to shock it into the realization that it is not to be ruled by either Protestants or

rials

colored American thinkers

Catholics, Jews or Gentiles, whites or Negroes, but by and for all of the people.

Perhaps the election of a man who is a Catholic to the presidency will help to do this thing.

Eugene Kinckle Jones

THROUGH the brilliant organizing and administrative ability of Mr. Jones, the National Urban League has been developed into the greatest social service agency among Negroes in America.

Its personnel of workers comprise some of the finest types of young Negro men and women of the race. Through the League, many young Negro men and women of promise have been afforded opportunities to broaden their training for larger social service work, in the big Eastern colleges.

Its policy centers in industrial opportunity in the form of more and better jobs. It takes cognizance also of the relation of the Trade Union Movement to the problem of industrial opportunity. To this end in St. Louis, the League, under the firm and enlightened guidance of Mr. Jones, gave, despite strong opposition, due consideration to the subject of the Negro and trade unions.

It was our good pleasure to deal with this subject for the conference, and before the Conference had ended, it was clear to everyone that it took a real man to resist the pressure which was exercised on Mr. Jones to force him to eliminate our talk from the program. We know of few Negroes who would have had the courage to hold their ground as Secretary Jones did.

The time has come when Negroes must back men of such spirit and character morally and financially. A sight fit for the gods is to witness a man, rising under fire, unflinchingly, with kingly dignity, to face a great moral issue; for the sharpest test of true manhood is what one is willing to sacrifice for his principles.

Distribution of Wealth

THE problem of the modern world is the problem of distribution not the production, of wealth. The scientific and industrial revolutions of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries solved the problem of production. Prior to the advent of the Industrial Revolution, the main problem of society was production. Then society lived in a deficit or pain economy. But now society lives in a surplus or pleasure economy. Despite this surplus of wealth, rendered possible by a vast supply, elaborate productive capital, the masses who toil and produce this surplus of wealth, live in want while a few who toil not, live in luxury.

Our inequitable distribution is glaringly set forth in the income tax returns. An analysis of the first income tax returns filed under the present law in March, 1926, for earnings of 1925, made public by the Internal Revenue Bureau, showed the greatest number of incomes in excess of $1,000,000 on record. Even the war years, when enormous fortunes were made, were surpassed.

Incomes in excess of $1,000,000 in 1925 numbered 207, which was one more than in 1916, when American manufacturers reaped a harvest in supplying munitions to European nations. The number was nearly three times the average of the years, 1922, 1923 and 1924. The number of excess million dollar incomes dropped to 141 in 1907, to 67 in 1918, to 65 in 1919, to 33 in 1920, to 21 in 1921, then rose to 67 in 1922, went on to 74 in 1923 and 75 in 1924.

Of the 207 incomes in 1925 in excess of $1,000,000 there were 104 between $1,000,000 and $1,500,000; between $1,500,000 and $2,000,000 there were 43; between $2,000,000 and $3,000,000 there were 29; between $3,000,000 and $4,000,000 and $5,000,000 there were 9, and seven were above $5,000,000.

These huge and fabulous incomes were well nigh unthinkable twenty years ago, although large surplusses began to grow with the invention of labor saving machinery.

It is interesting and illuminating to note that out of a population of some 112 or more millions in America only 3,953,968 made income tax returns, and practically 85 per cent. of those filing income returns had no more than $5,000, showing the appalling inequality in the possession of wealth.

Five thousand dollars a year will just enable the standard American family to live moderately well. It is a quasi-cultural income, not a luxury income.

An analysis of American incomes shows that a vast amount of the nation's income goes to owners of property, many of them absentee owners who perform little or no active part in the conduct of industry. The National Bureau of Economic Research estimated that in 1918, a war year when workers were scarce, the total income of the entire population of the country was $60,366,000,000; that of this amount $32,575,000,000, 53.9 per cent., went to employees in the form of wages, salaries, pensions, compensation for injuries etc., while $27,791,000,000 or 46.04 per cent., was received by entrepreneurs, investors and other owners of property used in industry. In all industries during the ten-year period from 1909 to 1918, inclusive, some $181,868,000,000 went to managers and owners of industry, and $208,683,000,000 to employees. It must be remembered in this connection that managers and owners range in the thousands and tens of thousands, whereas, employees comprise some 41 millions.

Under such an unjust distribution of wealth, charity or a civilized method of patching up social maladjustment, is inevitable. But it is not the fundamental remedy.

The National Bureau of Economic Research also brought out the fact that one per cent. of the income receivers obtained nearly 14 per cent. of the total income; the most prosperous 5 per cent. of the income receivers obtained nearly 26 per cent., the most prosperous 10 per cent., nearly 35 per cent. of the total, while one-fifth of the income receivers secured nearly 50 per cent. of the total.

This unequal distribution of wealth is attended by very grave and dangerous social evils. It can only be remedied by a progressive trade and industrial union movement. It breeds excessive toil, monotonous and unrequited; ser-

(*Continued on Page* 166)

Business & Industry

THE Citizens Bank and Trust Company and the Forsyth Savings and Trust Company of Winston-Salem, N. C., both Negro institutions, have consolidated. W. S. Scales is president of the new bank. *Congratulations are in order. This is the day of Big Business.*

It is reported that the National Association of Colored Waiters and Cooks is going to purchase a piece of property in Memphis, Tenn., on which it plans to erect an old waiters' home. *Good! Charity should begin at home.*

The Domestic Life and Accident Insurance Company of Louisville, Ky., has opened an office in Columbus, Ohio, with D. C. Chandler in charge. *The Domestic is stepping right out.*

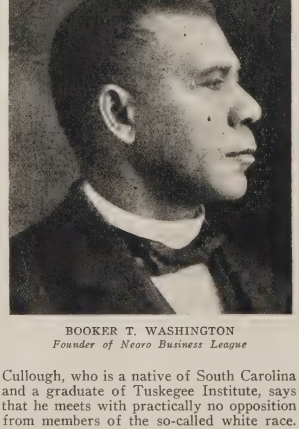
The Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union of South Africa, a labor organization composed of 75,000 native workers and headed by the militant and brilliant Clements Kadalie, with headquarters at Johannesburg, has just joined the International Federation of Trade Unions, sometimes known as the Amsterdam International in contradistinction from the Red Trade Union International controlled by the Communists. *This militant black labor union has done more to uplift the South African natives in the last eight years than the allegedly Christian missionaries have done in the last century.*

The Your Cab Company of Chicago, which was organized in the latter part of July, 1923, can now thoroughly sympathize with the Garveyites, for it too has fallen into the hands of the sheriff. *Judgment Day came around and it couldn't fork up the* $8,700 *which it owed the Lake Shore Oil Company, so the Sheriff said "Mean Papa, Turn in Your Key."*

The Louisiana Weekly, that healthy and robust fledgling in the ranks of Negro journalism, will have the largest publishing house owned by Negroes south of Nashville very soon. It is consolidating with the printing firm of James Carney, Jr., and will move to a new $25,000 plant in the new building of Dr. W. A. Willis at 1815 Dryades Street. There will be a newspaper press, automatic high speed presses, small job presses, modern typesetting machines, folders, perforators, punchers and everything to make the plant complete and modern. The plant will be operated by Negroes, just as the building was designed and erected by Negroes. *Nothing slow about the Creoles, eh!*

The General Motors Corporation of Detroit recently insured $10,000 of its Negro workers in the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company for $1,000 each. *This will doubtless enhance the loyalty of the wage slaves and lure them away from the nourishment of trade unionism with the narcotic of company "welfare."*

Walkerton, La., boasts of the only Negro postmaster in the Pelican State. He is W. A. McCullough, 34 years of age. Mr. McCullough, who is a native of South Carolina and a graduate of Tuskegee Institute, says that he meets with practically no opposition from members of the so-called white race. In addition to his duties as postmaster, the young man operates a meat market. *He is probably one of the much-discussed (and cussed) New Negroes.*



BOOKER T. WASHINGTON
Founder of Negro Business League

Mr. C. H. Hodge has opened the Atlas Laundry in Los Angeles. It is owned, operated and controlled by Negroes, and is thoroughly up to date. The building covers two city lots. Good for Hodge! *Now, if he can only get the Negroes to patronize him. . . . !*

The bruit goeth forth that Mr. Norman L. McGhee is to start a new weekly publication in Cleveland, Ohio, to be known as the *Cleveland Crusader. There is a great need of more crusaders—if they'll continue to crusade!*

Miss Helen A. Williams of Newark, N. J., has the distinction of being the first colored girl to be appointed to a position in the Essex County (New Jersey) Court House, where she has joined the clerical staff of the County Clerk. *Well, it's a sign of progress when Negroes can enter the Court House to get a salary rather than a sentence.*

The Detroit *Independent*, that vigorous weekly carrying on in the city of flivvers, recently celebrated its fifth birthday. *Wish 'em many more folks, and by the way, you can't wish 'em well any better than by subscribing.*

The congregation of Bethel A. M. E. Church in Chicago, Ill., recently purchased a second-hand Jewish synagogue for $450,000. *The religion business—the largest in the race—seems to be flourishing. Sometime, probably in the year 2027, a group of Chicago Negroes will invest* $450,000 *in a co-operative overall, shoe or hat factory. In other words, in something that will make for economic self-sufficiency; giving employment to more than a handful of sleek Negroes.*

The irrepressable Garland Anderson has inveigled some white Californians into producing his so-called play "Appearances" at the Majestic Theatre in Los Angeles. Dodo Green, the eminent thespian, will be in the cast, largely for the purpose of furnishing the much-needed comic note. *This play is so rotten that even New York, with its millions of morons, gave it the razz. After seeing the play, no one will doubt that a bell boy wrote it. It embodies the old Uncle Tom philosophy attired in modern dress.*

Negroes in Asheville, N. C., are erecting a modern building which is to contain a theater and hotel. The theater will have a seating capacity of 700, and the hotel will have fifty rooms with bath, lobby and cafe. *That sounds pretty good for Asheville. What town will be next?*

According to A. Philip Randolph, General Organizer of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, that organization has increased its membership by over a thousand since January 1st. Almost 85 per cent of the Pullman Porters and Maids are now members of the union. *Who said you could not organize Negroes for anything constructive?*

Nearly a score of Negroes in Muskogee, Oklahoma, are worth more than $500,000, but this wealth is controlled by white "guardians." The wealth is derived from oil wells discovered on land belonging to these Negroes.

President Rienzi B. Lemus, of the Brotherhood of Dining Car Employes, states that regional standards of wages and conditions of work are being sought by his union. This organization is 9 years old and has 3,000 members. During its life it has raised wages over 100 per cent. *Such are the benefits of organization.*

Daniel Reeves, Inc., the third largest chain store grocers in New York, operating 625 stores in the Metropolitan district, has appointed Richard Allen, a Negro, as manager of one of their stores. *Now if other white businesses will only follow suit!*

The American Federation of Labor is launching a drive to organize the laundry workers of New York City, a large percentage of whom are Negroes. Indeed, fully seven-five per cent of the workers in this industry are Negroes. The response of the workers has been very gratifying to the labor officials. The goal sought is an increase of wages and the establishment of the 44-hour week. *More power to 'em. Some day even stenographers and clerks will have sense enough to join a union.*

The Anchor Life and Accident Insurance Company, a $100,000 corporation, was recently launched in Cleveland, Ohio, by a group of wealthy Negroes.

The Theater

The Souls of Black Folks

By THEOPHILUS LEWIS

REFLECTIONS OF AN ALLEGED DRAMATIC CRITIC

The Book of Job in Blackface

There seems to be a great mystery about the ways of the Southern Negro peasant and in the absence of definite knowledge of the subject white playwrights incline generally to the belief that he spends his time brooding on the welfare of his soul and madly dashing back and forth between the parson's church on the hill and the voodoo man's hut in the swamp. With my usual eagerness to spread enlightenment on a dark subject, and with humble apologies for not thinking of it before, I will now tell the world just how the average smoke in the sticks uses up his day. My earnest hope is that white playwrights will ponder my words seriously and that the next one who feels the urge to write a drama of Negro life will not rely solely on his own head for the concrete material he needs to work with.

The Negro peasant, like the rest of us, lives twenty-four hours a day, and as he is a hard manual worker he requires no less than eight hours' sleep. Twelve of the remaining sixteen hours are spent in ploughing, harrowing, planting, hoeing and harvesting his corn, cotton or tobacco, according to the locality and season, and in between times he attends to such chores as slopping the hogs, mending harness, collecting kindling, cussing his mule, greasing axles, sharpening tools and distilling his moonshine. In the meantime his wife is busy washing white-folks' clothes, looking after the poultry, milking the cow if they own one, cooking, sweeping, wiping noses and washing dishes and the baby's diapers. Together they spend the remaining four hours eating their meals, commenting briefly on the gossip of the neighborhood and collaborating in the business of enlarging the family.

This is a fair to middling account of how the typical Aframerican peasant and his mate fill their time from Monday morning till Saturday night. It's a pretty hard daily grind and when night comes the average black has no strength left for emotional excess or rollicking over the countryside. Besides wandering around at night without a good excuse is a rather risky business for the rural black down South. He might inadvertently interrupt the tryst of some white man and his chocolate sweetie, in which case the wanderer will carry home a pair of sore hips. Or if it has happened that a black rooster has raped a white hen that day any dark object the Klu Klux committee observes on the landscape will be s. o. l. Thus toil and discretion combine to keep the Dixie cousin of Dean Pickens pretty close to a prosaic routine at least six days a week.

On the Sabbath, of course, the ebony earthling can give himself up to the service and worship of his gods. But as he lies abed late Sunday morning a considerable part of his service to the Master consists of doing his best to carry out the Lord's command to replenish the earth. This custom, I might remark in passing, is by no means peculiar to the Aframerican. Instead it is an established convention of the American family and its observance is so universal that an allusion to it is a surefire gag in the hands of any competent vaudeville actor. When the Southern black finally gets around to his religious orgies late Sunday morning, the weather permitting, he is inclined to celebrate explosively, but not any louder than the flock of Rev. John Roach Stratton, and he soon gets it over with and returns to the exacting monotony of raising crops and children.

The life of the black peasant is colorful, poignant and full of passion, but his religion, like that of all normally constituted human beings, absorbs only a fraction of his thought and energy. The things that vex him are his love problems, industrialism and a hard agrarian system and he is constantly engaged in a spiritual struggle with them, but he is no more disposed to carry all his troubles to the Lord in prayer than are his countrymen of the Aryan persuasion.

Although I submit this faithful though brief sketch of the Aframerican peasant, his life and habits, in the interest of sincere drama I am by no means naïve enough to expect any white playwright to give it any attention. To portray the Negro groundling with fidelity to his subtle humors, mordant ironies and voluptuous passions would be a difficult undertaking while to write one more shoddy imitation of "The Emperor Jones" is as easy as stealing bird seed from a cuckoo clock.

The scene of the latest Broadway forgery of Negro drama is the New Playwrights Theater in West Fifty-second Street, the play is called "Earth" and the author is a young man who makes no bones of calling himself Em Jo Basshe. Since the indifferent way he wears that kind of name in public marks Mr. Basshe as a man with the temerity to try anything once, the judicious will hardly sustain even a mild shock on discovering that as his gift to the new enlightenment on the Negro he offers an elaborately camouflaged Greenwich Village conception of an Uncle Tom's Cabin version of the Book of Job.

Job, with his whiskers shaved off and his head wrapped up in a bath towel, appears disguised as Eliza matured to the proportions of Aunt Jemima while God doubles as an invisible Simon Legree and the Devil is represented by a conjure man made up to look like Jojo the dogface boy. Eliphaz, Bildad and Zophar, the banana oil merchants of the biblical story, do their stuff in "Earth" dressed up in the absurd sunbonnets, calico wrappers and muslin drawers of a trio of ginger colored Daughters of the Household of Ruth, with a couple of extra comforters thrown in to add volume to the singing, while one of the more optimistic minor prophets, outfitted with a pair of Congress gaiters and a second-hand frock coat, functions as a foil for the female Job and at the same time acts as the Sinai spokesman who hands down the celestial sophistries. The action proceeds under a flood of colored lights, mostly lavender, they sing a number of the more spirited spirituals, so to speak, and of course they raise a hell of a racket with the inevitable tom-toms.

The fact that the white critics were so bewildered by the piece that most of them admitted they didn't know what it was all about is simply an evidence of the decline of Bible reading. Deborah, as the Eliza of the play is called, suffers practically the same afflictions which made life a pain for the man of Uz; she breaks out in garrulous revolt against God the same way Job did, and like him she is plagued with the commiseration of a set of sanctified dumbbells. There is an immaterial difference in the way the two stories end, but that is merely the result of antithetical views of life on the part of the authors. The best minds of the seventeenth century who put the story in its incomparable English version wanted to produce propaganda favorable to God so they wound up the narrative on a happy note, showing Job as a prosperous Babbit at peace with the world. Mr. Basshe, on the other hand, believes that if God is anything at all He is an unspeakable monster so he ends his play showing Him as a capricious and idiotic Imperial Buzzard who, motivated by boredom rather than mercy, eggs on His dupes to put Deborah at peace with the world by the effective method of lynching her.

While "Earth" is the bunk when it is considered as a work bearing the slightest relation to Negro life or character it is nevertheless an intense and poignant piece of work when it is recognized as an oriental drama presented by colored actors. The story of Job embodies the noblest theme of all literature—man's struggle to satisfy his passionate desire for freedom and happiness and its brutal suppression by a mocking God—and it is virtually impossible to deprive it of interest and poignancy. Mr. Basshe has invested his play with all the bitter irony of the theme and while he has unavoidably lost the rich harmony and imagery of the Elizabethan text his dialogue retains a good deal of its stirring rhythm. He has achieved the best so-called Negro play since "The Emperor Jones."

The acting is the best of any colored cast that has yet been seen on Broadway. Inez Clough plays Deborah like she feels the theme in her blood and Hayes Pryor, in the lesser role of Abner, gives a performance that makes an even closer approach to ideal. Daniel Haynes is a greenhorn on the stage but nobody would ever suspect it from the true and eloquent way he presents Brother Elijah, the

(*Continued on Page* 169)

BEST EDITORIAL FOR MARCH

Selected from the American Negro Press

By EUGENE GORDON, *Editorial Staff of the Boston Post*

This matter of selecting the "best" one of any class of things is always full of risks for the foolhardy who attempt it; however, those who explain their methods more often escape wrath than those who do not. As a matter of necessity, especially if one person makes the selection, the method must *be arbitrary. If it be arbitrary it* must *follow certain lines of guidance—certain rules from which no appeal is allowed. Moreover, the word "best," as used nowadays in our appraisal of qualities in stories, books, newspapers, plays, and so on, is far from being an absolute term; at best "best" as thus employed is merely relative, and its relativeness becomes apparent in proportion as the selector of the "best" be a "committee" of one person or of several. For that reason no story or editorial or book or play selected as the "best" should be considered as unqualifiedly perfect; it should be considered merely as having met more thoroughly than any other story or editorial or book or play* that was read by the selector *the arbitrary rules or tests applied to it.*

As there are in other literary forms certain elastic principles which govern them, so are there in the newspaper editorial. For the purpose of this new department, however, the elasticity must be removed, and the principles made hard and rigid. If this were not done the rules would not be arbitrary, and arbitrary they must *be, to be effective, in this particular undertaking. I have made for my use a standard rule by which each editorial read during the month will be measured. That one which adjusts itself most nearly perfectly to this standard will be chosen as the* best *of all those examined.*

Perhaps I should say now what I shall eventually have to say, and that is that the selection of the "best" editorial from any given newspaper will not exclude that paper from future consideration; that it will not even exclude it from consideration the next month, if it again should print the "best".

What impressed me most during the past month's reading of editorials in the Negro press was one in the Dallas *Express* cumbersomely titled "The Probable Effect of the N. E. A. Meeting in Dallas". In this editorial the writer set forth his views as to what would be the effect on educators visiting the National Educational Association from parts of the country in which colored pupils are not segregated. He regretted that the association had met at Dallas, and said: "There can be no doubt but that the most universal response to the new sights in the Negro schools which these visitors gained, was to the effect that the condition of the Negro in the South has been overstated, and that the description of him which had for many years been taken for the truth in other sections of America, was false." That the editorial writer correctly gauged the situation is amply attested to by the Tom's River affair, in New Jersey. The superintendent of schools at this place, it will be recalled, ordered colored children to a make-shift school house, remarking to those who questioned him that Texas had taught him something as to the proper way to treat niggers. This kind of editorial writing, I maintain, is judicial and level-headed; it belongs essentially to a school of journalism Afra-merican, the members of which are too few.

My choice of the *best* editorial of February 26 and the month of March lay between two that were printed in different issues of the *Amsterdam News.* Because of its secure grasp of the subject; because of its importance as a contribution to newspaper Aframericana; because, finally, it is exceedingly well written, the editorial from the New York *Amsterdam News* of March 16, entitled "Negro Press 100 Years Old", is selected as the *best* of the month.

Honorable Mention: 1. "Understudies," Amsterdam *News,* Feb. 23; 2. "The Probable Effect of the N. E. A. Meeting in Dallas," Dallas *Express,* March 12; 3. "Sterilizing the Feeble-Minded," Pittsburgh *Courier,* Feb. 26; 4. "Is Lynching a Sport?" Pittsburgh *Courier,* March 12; 5. "Rights and Duties," Chicago *Whip,* March 5; 6. "Go West, Young Men," Chicago *Defender,* March 26; 7. "Amending the Constitution," Washington *Tribune,* March 18; 8. "Appetite Makes All Akin," Kansas City *Call,* March 18; 9. "A Great Victory," Philadelphia *Tribune,* March 19; 10. "Abolish 'Black Belts'," Chicago *Defender,* March 5; 11. "Coffeyville," Kansas City *Call,* March 25; 12. "Poor Uncle Sam," Baltimore *Afro-American,* March 26.

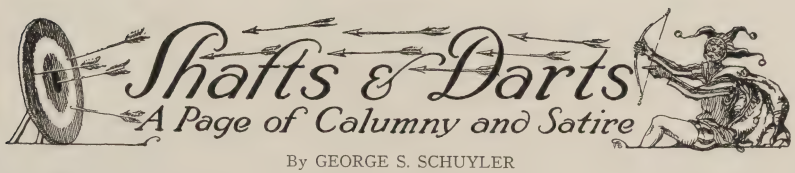
NEGRO PRESS A 100 YEARS OLD

Today begins the second century in the history of the Negro press in America. It was on March 16, 1827, that John B. Russwurm, first Negro college graduate in the United States (Bowdoin), established his Freedom's Journal, with the financial assistance of the Rev. Samuel A. Cornish, in New York City, to combat slavery. This gave inspiration for the founding of any number of other newspapers, both here and elsewhere, to fight the same evil.

Consequently, all Negro newspapers established prior to the issuing of the Emancipation Proclamation were mostly of the propaganda-organ type. The destruction of slavery meant everything to the Negro race and its young press and the newspapers of the day could not have been expected to keep step with the American press in general.

With the destruction of slavery and with the close of the Civil War the first period of the Negro press may be said to have been brought to a close. Then began the second period—a period which confronted the newly freed race with other and more difficult problems of adjustment, but still leaving little room for the press to expand and come into its own as a real purveyor of news of the varied activities of the race. It is probable that this period was more trying for Negro editors and publishers than the first, because of the misguided notion that, with slavery out of the way, the Negro press had accomplished its work, leaving nothing for it to do, when, as a matter of fact, its work had barely begun. Today finds the Negro press still on the firing line and fighting many of the problems which grew out of the period of Reconstruction; but the fight is being waged in a different way, and begins with the presentation of facts —both favorable and unfavorable—to the masses of the race.

With the acceptance of this idea of newspaper work, the Negro press may well be said to have entered upon its third period, and has begun to take its place in the journalistic life of the nation. No longer may a Negro newspaper subsist by merely yelling: "Race! Race! Race!" Propaganda is giving way to accurately reported news, opinion is being more and more confined to editorial pages and signed articles, which, with entertaining features, are attracting attention to the Negro press on a merit basis not unlike that which underlies the American press in general.



By GEORGE S. SCHUYLER

Darktown Dialogues

Thundermug and Twilight, two gentlemen of color, are busily engaged in playing Five Up in the back bedroom of a fashionable rooming house on the main Negro thoroughfare of Kotex City. Close at hand on the table is a bottle of shellac labeled "Pure Scotch Whiskey," which shows evidence of constant attention.

THUNDERMUG: Well, it's pretty tough—all them missionaries being run out of China.

TWILIGHT: What do you care? You ain't no missionary! Besides, the only ones it's tough on is us folks back here.

THUNDERMUG: How you figure that?

TWILIGHT: Well, as bad as the country is now, can you imagine what it'll be with all them missionaries back here trying to make a living at their business?

THUNDERMUG: Being a missionary ain't no business; that's a profession.

TWILIGHT: Whatever you call it, it's a pretty good graft. Them folks live a whole lot better in China and Africa than they would if they stayed at home.

THUNDERMUG: But look at the sacrifices they make; givin' up their whole lives to the heathen?

TWILIGHT: How come they're hollorin' so much about their lives bein' in danger then—nobody forced 'em to go over there.

THUNDERMUG: The papers say they went over there to carry the torch of Christianity and civilization to the Chinese.

TWILIGHT: They'd have saved a lot of transportation if they'd just settled down in Georgia or Mississippi or Florida.

THUNDERMUG: Look out how you get on Florida—I come from there!

TWILIGHT: Yeh, and you come from there in a hurry, too!

THUNDERMUG: Well anyway, our Marines are over in China now and they'll protect the missionaries.

TWILIGHT: From what I see in the papers about bombardments, them Chinese need more protection than the missionaries. And furthermore, where do you get that "our Marines" stuff?

THUNDERMUG: Well, they *are* our Marines, ain't they? They're serving under the flag of this country!

TWILIGHT: They're serving under this flag, all right, but they aint *your* Marines. They didn't send no Marines to protect you when the crackers run you out of Florida.

THUNDERMUG: There you go on Florida again! There's worse places than Florida in this world.

TWILIGHT: I wouldn't know, Big Boy!... But I guess it's a pretty good thing the Marines did get over to China.

THUNDERMUG: Certainly! We can't let them Chinese run over American men and women.

TWILIGHT: Oh, I don't mean that. There ain't no way for them Chinese to run over them missionaries, after the start they got. Why there's missionaries over there that ran from Hankow to Shanghai without stoppin' for water. What I mean is that it's a good thing for the Marines from the standpoint of trainin'.

THUNDERMUG: Yes, it gives 'em a chance to see th' world.

TWILIGHT: An' to sharpen up on their battle practice, too. In time of peace there's nothin' like these inferior wars to help you to brush up on your rifle practice. If we didn't send a regiment into Nicaragua or some other spiggoty country every once in a while, the boys wouldn't be able to hit anything when a real war came along. Besides, these little side excursions serve a double purpose.

THUNDERMUG: How do you mean?

TWILIGHT: Well, when th' Marines and sailors just go around the world on a cruise or stop at Guantanamo Bay for target practice, it's almost a dead loss. You see, the targets aint real, and a man don't get the thrill and experience from shooting at paper targets that he gets from levelin' down on a real human being. But when the Marines go around shootin' down Chinamen and Mexicans, they get the knack of the thing and are able to do well when a real war comes to make the world safe for something or other. On the other hand, instead of the ammunition expenditure being a loss it is in an ordinary target practice, it helps business.

THUNDERMUG: How does bombarding Chinamen help business?

TWILIGHT: In the same way that a blackjack helps burglary or chloroform helps surgery—it keeps the victim from struggling while he's being relieved. What Chinamen *are* killed, are, of course, so many Socony customers gone, but the killings teach the rest of the Chinks to stay in their places and not squawk when their pockets are being picked.

THUNDERMUG: Well, it looks as though they're doing a lot of struggling and squawking now.

TWILIGHT: Yes, I guess it's too late—they've become civilized now. They've got revolvers, guns, bayonets, hand grenades, and all the assets of Christian civilization. I wouldn't be surprised to hear that they had chaplains in their armies. The missionaries are really responsible for it.

THUNDERMUG: How come?

TWILIGHT: Well, according to the missionaries, they have put four million Bibles in China. Now everybody knows that the Bible is the best war book ever written. It gives all the methods of slaying in cold blood from the days of Cain and Abel to the present time. Nobody who wants to go in for murder, either wholesale or retail, should overlook the Bible. It even reveals God's methods of shuffling off the populace. Well, the Chinks were apt pupils.

THUNDERMUG: But there's more in the Bible than just instructions about killing.

TWILIGHT: Of course there is, but no one takes the rest seriously. The missionaries taught the Chinks all about turning the other cheek and doing unto others as you would like to be done by, but the Chinks noticed that the Christians did just the opposite. For a long time some Chinese believed that the meek would inherit the earth, just like the missionaries said, but they found out that if they didn't kick the foreigners out pretty soon, there would only be six feet of the earth for each meek Chinaman to inherit.

THUNDERMUG: Then you think that Christian example and teaching has a lot to do with the present Chinese revolution?

TWILIGHT: Absolutely! The Chinese need a strong government in order to be independent, and everybody knows that strong governments are builded on robbery, murder, lying and hypocrisy. What better instructors could the Chinks have had than the Christians?

THUNDERMUG: Well, it's nothing but treachery to turn on your benefactors.

TWILIGHT: No, it's quite Christian. Didn't Peter deny the Lord three times in one night?

AFTERTHOUGHT
By WESLEY CURTRIGHT

Leave me alone
And let me think
Of things that were,
And things that might have been
If only you had made
My dreams come true.

Wanted

What does the Negro want?
What you would want
If you were in his place.
A generous human space,
Nor more, nor less.
Nor danger nor duress
The heart of him shall daunt.
Until all men of every race are free,
And everywhere all have full right to be.

—*Robert Whitaker*

A Black Theme

(*Continued from Page* 142)

With golden bracelets 'round her arm,
A red rose in her hair,
Her soul is autumn-brown and warm.
A poet's dream is living there.

Her darting, cutting, dashing eyes
Half-closed, yet full of fire,
Ope wide, then close with mild surprise,
To trap some some eager sire.

From side to side she swayed her comely hips,
Palm-like beneath the peeping giggling Sun.
Her step was firm, now weak, now pleading
To the Sun, her lover;
Now defiant, now ranting, now expressive of flight
Before her rival The Silver River.
The muscles of her swift black legs were taut,
Ready to run errands for her lover the Sun.

The soft curves of her neck,
The mellow outlines of her back
Flowed clearly . . . then confusedly,
As the dance got faster and faster.
I saw her dimpled knees, like smiling baby's cheeks.
I saw her tender breasts springing regularly,
Tipped with polished bronze,
Teeming with passion,
Pouting for love.

A drooping willow raised his drooping head
To feast his eyes on my Nellie dancing there naked on silver sand by the Silver River for her lover, the Sun.
I started to get kind of sore.
But I knew the old willow was too old to do any harm,
So I chanted:

Do not disturb my very own.
I'll let you stand afar and look
At her whose soul is wine to me,
A golden book, a soothing tone.

I saw her warm pert, laughing mouth.
I saw her right red lips
Magnetic, honey-dewed, half-parted,
Uncurtain the tips of her white, white teeth—
White like rice in a red-rimmed ebony bowl!
I saw her eyes smiling through her long black hair
Which hung all loose and lustrous in the Sun-glow.
I heard my Nellie say to her lover the Sun:

"Come love me now, come love me long."
And I saw the Sun run off giggling behind the clouds.
Nellie shrugged her shoulders
And thrust her fists in her cynical ribs,
And leaned slightly forward,
And sang with the voice of a low-down hag
The song of the Black Fates:

"Dark gal born
Of a dark, dark woman
Ahey!
Sho' bound to see dark days."

She plunged into the stream and swam against the tide,
While I gazed on, wrapt in celestial bliss, wild-eyed.

MESSENGER GOSSIP

Authors—Comments—Announcements

Samuel Coleridge Taylor, whose picture appears on the Table of Contents page, is the noted British composer, now dead.

S. Miller Johnson lives in Detroit. "The Golden Penknife," a story by him, appeared in the August, 1925, MESSENGER.

J. A. Rogers, when last heard from, was still gathering impressions of the lands bordering on the Mediterranean.

Kathryn M. Johnson, a native Ohian, lives in Brooklyn. She is a gradute of Wilberforce University and taught school for nearly ten years in various parts of the country. She was the first field worker for the N. A. A. C. P. and went to France as a "Y" Secretary, serving fifteen months. She is co-author of the book, "Two Colored Women with the A.E.F." For the past five years she has been touring the country in a Ford Coupé, featuring the "Two Foot Shelf of Negro Literature." She has disposed of thousands of books.

NEXT MONTH (June) we have for your entertainment a debate between Raymond W. Cannon of Minneapolis and James W. Ivy of Hampton. Subject: "What Good are College Fraternities?" Don't miss this, folks.

Due to the fact that the illustration for Langston Hughes' story, "The Young Glory of Him," was delayed, we had to omit its publication. It will appear next month. His stories will appear regularly in THE MESSENGER.

A hot article in the offing is, "Has the American Negro Produced Creative Geniuses in the Field of Music." The author, himself a distinguished composer, must remain anonymous.

Then we shall soon have V. F. Calverton, Editor of *The Modern Quarterly,* and Gordon B. Hancock, of Virginia Union University, discussing, "Does Orthodox Religion Handicap the Negro's Progress?"

Mr. Thomas Kirksey, a Chicago lawyer, via Selma, Ala., and Boston University, has an excellent review of "Sex Expression in Literature," which will shortly appear.

GROUP TACTICS AND IDEALS will be resumed in the June number.

In that same number will appear "The Black Man's Bluff," by Lee Selman, a very entertaining article, and by all means keep your eye peeled for "Battling Siki: The Dupe of Civilization," by Elmer Carter of St. Paul, Minn.

Let us know what you think of us. Spare no words (under 250). See page 169.

NEGRO ARTISTS

Get in touch with The Messenger. We may be able to use some of your work.

STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION, ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF AUGUST 24, 1912.

Of THE MESSENGER, published monthly at New York, N. Y., for April 1, 1927.

STATE OF NEW YORK } ss.
COUNTY OF NEW YORK }

Before me, a Notary Public, in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Roy Lancaster, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Business Manager of THE MESSENGER and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 411, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor, managing editor, and business managers are: Publisher, THE MESSENGER PUBLISHING CO., 2311 Seventh Ave., New York, N. Y.; Editors, A. Philip Randolph and Chandler Owen, 2311 Seventh Ave., New York, N. Y.; Managing Editor, George S. Schuyler, 2311 Seventh Ave., New York, N. Y.; Business Manager, Roy Lancaster, 2311 Seventh Ave., New York, N. Y.

2. That the owner is: (If owned by a corporation, its name and address must be stated and also immediately thereunder the names and addresses of stockholders owning or holding one per cent or more of total amount of stock. If not owned by a corporation, the names and addresses of the individual owners must be given. If owned by a firm, company, or other unincorporated concern, its name and address, as well as those of each individual member, must be given.)

THE MESSENGER PUBLISHING CO., 2311 Seventh Ave., N. Y. City; A. Philip Randolph, 2311 Seventh Ave., N. Y. City; Chandler Owen, 2311 Seventh Ave., N. Y. City; Robert Godet, 32 W. 136th St., N. Y. City; Victor R. Daly, 161 W. 134th St., N. Y. City.

3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: (If there are none, so state.)

A. Philip Randolph, 2311 Seventh Ave., N. Y. City; Chandler Owen, 2311 Seventh Ave., N. Y. City; Robert Godet, 32 West 136th St., N. Y. City; Victor R. Daly, 261 West 134th St., N. Y. City.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

5. That the average number of copies of each issue of this publication, sold or distributed, through the mails or otherwise, to paid subscribers during the six months preceding the date shown above is— (This information is required from daily publications only.)

ROY LANCASTER, Business Manager.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 13th day of April, 1927.

[Seal] JOHN W. WALKER,
Notary Public, New York County.
Clerk's No. 27, Register's No. 9087.
(My commission expires March 30th, 1929.

Moslem Propaganda

(*Continued from page* 141)

tracts its aderents. It offers a simple philosophy of life; its code of morals are not exacting. Its outstanding contributions, however, appear to be intellectual and social rather than spiritual. Still, it has the capacity to make missionaries out of its converts. It is self supporting. It has possibilities of growth among the Negroes of our cities, two-thirds of whom are not being reached by the Church.

THE U. S. MEDIATION BOARD

THE EMPLOYEE REPRESENTATION PLAN AND THE PORTERS

By A. PHILIP RANDOLPH

WITH the restoration of the railroads to private hands by the Federal Government in 1920, the Employee Representation Plan was organized and put into effect by the Pullman Company to adjust grievances arising between the Company and its employees. During the period of government control of railroads, which included the Pullman Company, disputes between carriers and their employees were referrable to a Government Board of Wages and Working Conditions. This agency ,for the adjustment of wages and working conditions passed out of existence with government control. In its stead was established the United States Railway Labor Board in 1920.

With a view to facilitating the adjustment of disputes between carriers and their employees, the Government, in the interest of the efficient prosecution of the war, urged the organization of railway employees, based upon the fact that experience showed that organization of employees made for efficiency in industry. This attitude of the Government stimulated and encouraged self-organization of employees in various lines. Many corporations took advantage of this psychology of their employees for organization and imposed upon them company unions, euphemistically called Employee Representation Plans, etc. Pullman porters, under the influence of government encouragement and, especially, the favorable attitude of William Gibbs McAdoo, Director of Railroads, had formed an organization, known as the Brotherhood of Pullman Porters Benevolent and Protective Association. There was also a movement to organize the porters and maids, known as the International Benevolent Railway Men's Association. The former arose in the East, the latter in the West. Both appeared before the Board of Wages and Working Conditions in behalf of more wages and better working conditions. The Pullman Company sensing the desire for organization on the part of the porters and maids, organized and imposed the Employee Representation Plan upon them in May, 1920. According to the testimony of porters who have served as officials of the Plan, the porters had no choice with respect to the organization, adoption or operation of the Plan. Exhibit No. 1 plainly shows that the porters and maids were not questioned as to whether they wanted the Plan or not. No vote was taken for or against the Plan. Since the inauguration of the Plan, five or more elections have been held, not to determine whether porters and maids wanted the Plan, but for them to designate certain officials of the Local Grievance Committee and delegates to the Wage Conferences.

UNITED STATES
BOARD OF MEDIATION
WASHINGTON

SAMUEL E. WINSLOW, CHAIRMAN
HYWEL DAVIES
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EDWIN P. MORROW
CARL WILLIAMS
JOHN MARRINAN, SECRETARY

At Chicago,
April 9, 1927.

Mr. A Philip Randolph,
Organizer of the Brotherhood of
Order of Sleeping Car Porters,
Seventh Avenue,
New York.

My dear Sir:

I have been hoping, for the last month, that I could take up the matter of your dispute with the Pullman Co., but matters of the utmost importance, including the Trainmen and Conductors dispute with all of the Western Railroads, imperatively demanded my attention and made it impossible for me to further resume the investigation of your matter.

The Western situation is rapidly clearing and, unless something altogether unforseen and imperative in its character prevents, I expect to be in New York not later than the last week in April. I know that you will understand that a situation such as the Western situation, which developed here in the last few weeks, is so far-reaching in its scope and so great in its possibilities as to demand the prompt attention which we were compelled to give it.

Most sincerely yours,
Edwin P. Morrow
Member BOARD OF MEDIATION,

What Will Doubting Thomases Say to This?

Structure of Plan

In the words of Mr. E. F. Carry, President, in booklet, revised and effective January 1, 1927:

"Every district employee has the right to present his contention on any question growing out of grievances, existing practices, or the interpretation or application of agreements to his immediate supervisory officer, and failing satisfactory adjustment he may appeal his case to his local committee, and thence, if he desires, to his Zone General Committee, and failing satisfactory adjustment, to the Bureau of Industrial Relations consisting of an equal number of management and employee representatives, for final action."

The machinery of adjustment is as follows:

Immediate Supervisory Officer.
Local Joint Committee.
Zone General Joint Committee.
Joint Bureau of Industrial Relations.

There is one Local Committee for each district. Each such Local Committee shall consist of not less than three employee representatives, or one representative for each group of 200 employees in classifications above mentioned.

On each Local Committee the Management's representatives are not to exceed the number of employee representatives.

There are eight operating zones for which a Zone General Committee is provided.

This structure of the Plan indicates its origin and control, that it is not the result of the free exercise of the untramelled moral right of the porters and maids for self-organization. The composition and maintenance of committees constitute the key to the Company origin and control of Plan. The Plan invests the Company and porters with the right to have the same number of representatives on the Local Joint Committee and the Zone General Committee. While this arrangement may have the appearance of fairness, it is a subtle and effective method of intimidation and coercion, since the porter-representatives know that their difference on questions with the Management representatives may cause them to be requested to turn in their keys by the superintendent. The Management's representatives are usually the assistants of the Superintendent, who are, as a rule, upheld in their attitude toward porters by the Superintendent, who, in turn, is usually upheld by the General Management. This fact shapes the psychology of the porter-representatives who sit on the Local Joint Grievance Committees. One other basic method of destruction of the principle of self-organization by the whole scheme of the Plan is the fact that porter-representatives on the Committee are paid by the Pullman Company a per diem of $2.50 in addition to all other regular compensation while doing grievance-committee duty. Cognizant of the obvious and deadly menace of the companies' financing of the machinery for

adjusting grievances, the new Railway Labor Act provided in Section 3, paragraph H, under the head of Board of Adjustment-grievances—interpretation of Agreements, that the Adjustment Board be mutually established by the carrier and the voluntary cooperation of the employees, self-organized, and shall provide for the portion of expenses to be assumed by the respective parties. This provision which provides for the mutual maintenance financially of the Adjustment Board by the carrier and the employees, goes right to the heart of the principle of self-organization. Without it the entire machinery for settling disputes would be worthless to the employees.

Under the Plan, all of the members of the various committees, Local Grievance, Zone General and the Industrial Relations Board, both the representatives of the Management, local and general, and the so-called representatives of the Pullman porters and maids, are specially paid for the time they spend in settling disputes involving the employees and carriers. Thus all of the officials of the Employee Representation Plan have a direct financial reason for making decisions on cases favorable to the Company. It is unreasonable to expect the Plan to function against the interest of the source of its financial control, for "whoever pays the fiddler will call the tune."

Board of Industrial Relations

Says the revised Employee Representation Plan, effective January 1, 1927:

"To aid in carrying out the Plan of Employee Representation there has been established at the general offices of the Pullman Company in Chicago, a Bureau of Industrial Relations, consisting of representatives of the Company appointed by the President, and an equal number of representatives of the Employees chosen or designated by and from the employees."

It is to be noted in this connection that the reference here to the equal number of representatives of employees chosen by themselves as being on the Board of Industrial Relations does not mean that the Pullman porters and maids will have five porters as against five representatives of the General Management on the Board of Industrial Relations. It refers to all of the various classes of employees in the employ of the Pullman Company, including district office forces, car cleaners, yard mechanics, storeroom non-clerical employees, and minor supervising forces. Of these Pullman employee-representatives, the porters and maids will have only one representative. The porters have been without even one representative since the formation of the Plan in 1920 up to the last quarter of 1926. Now assuming that the Plan emanated from the porters and maids, is it reasonable to assume that they would exclude themselves from the Board of Industrial Relations, the body of last resort and final jurisdiction on disputes arising between the Company and the porters and maids? Not hardly.

The General Management's representatives on the Board of Industrial Relations consist of L. S. Hungerford, Vice-President and General Manager; L. S. Taylor, Vice-President and Comptroller; L. H. Greenlaw, General Attorney; J. F. Lane, Statistician; and F. L. Simmons, Supervisor of Industrial Relations.

One porter, Mr. Shannon, who was adroitly selected and not elected, to sit on the Board of Industrial Relations to represent the porters and maids, is required to match his untrained mind against trained and experienced officials in the passing of final judgment on cases of the porters and maids. It is obvious that with the ratio of one porter-representative to five General Management-representatives, the porters have no chance, right or wrong, to get a fair break, not so much because of a spirit of unfairness in the high officials of the Company, but rather because of the unjust inequality in numerical representation, as well as to training and experience and economic control.

It is to be noted that while on the subordinate committees the porters and maids have equal representation to the Management; on the Board of Industrial Relations, the final and highest court of appeal, the porters and maids have only one-fifth the representation of the Management.

Function

In paragraph (G) the Plan reads: "It is intended that any employee or group of employees or the Management may at any time present suggestions, requests, or complaints to the local committees with a certainty of full and fair hearing."

In a questionnaire on the Employee Representation Plan sent to porters who have served on the local committees, by the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, revealed that requests and complaints of porters and maids do not have a certainty of full and fair hearing. (See Exhibit No. 2.) The following questionnaire is typical of the facts relating to porters getting full and fair hearing:

1. Q. When did you first hear of the Plan?
   A. About the first of May, 1923.
2. Q. When did you first see any literature on the plan?
   A. At the time I first heard of it.
3. Q. Have you ever read the booklet on the Plan? If so, when?
   A. Yes. As soon as it was given me.
4. Q. Who first brought the Plan to your attention?
   A. The Pullman Company.
5. Q. How was it brought to your attention?
   A. By explanation of Pullman representatives and booklet on Plan.
6. Q. Who organized the Plan? When?
   A. The Pullman Company. About the first of May, 1923.
7. Q. Are porters asked to vote for the Plan? If so, by whom?
   A. Yes. By officials of the Pullman Company.
8. Q. When are primaries held?
   A. The second Tuesday in November.
9. Q. How are they conducted?
   A. By the Pullman Company.
10. Q. When are elections held?
    A. Ten days after closing primary election.
11. Q. How are they conducted?
    A. The same as primary election.
12. Q. Were you ever an official of the Plan?
    A. Yes.
13. Q. When and how long did you serve?
    A. At its birth, two years.
14. Q. Are tellers of primaries and elections paid? If so, by whom?
    A. Yes. The Pullman Company.
15. Q. Who are tellers appointed by?
    A. The Pullman Company.
16. Q. In whose custody are ballot boxes after voting?
    A. The Pullman Company.
17. Q. Whom do porters get ballots from?
    Q. Anyone of the tellers, or election committee, or Pullman representatives appointed by the Pullman Company.
18. Q. How do porters vote in primaries?
    A. On instructions by the officials of the Management.
19. Q. How do porters vote in elections?
    A. On instructions by the officials of the Management.
20. Q. Do Pullman porter-instructors request porters to vote? If so, how?
    A. Yes. By saying, aren't you going to vote for John Doe? Let's put him over. The Superintendent thinks he will make a good man on this Committee.
21. Q. How many members are there on the local Grievance Committee for porters and Company? How does it function?
    A. Equal numbers on each side, usually three each. To the interest of the Management.
22. Q. How many members on the Zone General Committee for porters and Company? How does it function?
    A. One representative from each district in respective zone. Equal number for Management. Through correspondence from Supervisor of Bureau of Industrial Relations only.
23. Q. How many members on the Industrial Relations Board for porters and Company? How does it function?
    A. One for porters, four for Management. It functions in the interest of the Management.
24. Q. Are porter-representatives on committees allowed to question passengers who report a porter for evidence on the case of the porter penalized?
    A. No, never.
25. Q. May Company representatives question passengers who write up a porter for evidence in porter's case?
    A. Yes, always.
26. Q. In wage conferences how many porter-delegates attend? How many Company delegates attend?
    A. First conference, twenty porter-delegates. Second and last conference, eighteen delegates. Three Company delegates in each conference with equal voting power to that of porter-delegates.
27. Q. Have the representatives of the porters the same number of votes as the Company?
    A. Yes.
28. Q. Who pays for the transportation and hotel bills of the porter-delegates?
    A. The Pullman Company.
29. Q. How much are porter-delegates paid who attend conferences and by whom?
    A. Two dollars and a half a day, and expenses in addition to their monthly rate of pay, by the Pullman Company.

30. Q. How much are porter-representatives of the local Grievance Committees paid while doing grievance duty, and by whom?
A. Same fee; no expense account allowance. Paid by the Pullman Company.
31. Q. Are porter-delegates elected to wage conferences elected by the porters in their respective districts or by porters throughout the country?
A. Yes. Throughout the country.
32. Q. How do porters learn of the character, ability and viewpoints of delegates they vote for?
A. By officials of the Pullman Company.
33. Q. To whom do porter-delegates report after they sign agreements at wage conferences?
A. To their respective Superintendents.
34. Q. Are agreements signed by Company representatives at conferences or by other Pullman officials?
A. Company representatives approved by L. S. Hungerford.
35. Q. Are porters permitted to have experts and stenographers in conferences? If not, why not?
A. No. The Company always says we will furnish them, as we do not want outside interference.
36. Q. Does the Company have stenographers and experts in conferences? If so, why?
A. Yes. For the benefit of the Management.
37. Q. Are Pullman porter-instructors ever elected delegates to conferences?
A. Yes, in some districts.
38. Q. Are Negro Pullman officials elected delegates to conferences?
A. Yes.
39. Q. Are only Pullman porters in service supposed to be eligible to serve as delegates?
A. Yes.
40. Q. Is the Plan democratic in its structure and functioning? If not, why not? If so, why?
A. No. It is controlled by the Company, and only functions to their interest.
41. Q. How does a porter file a grievance?
A. With the consent of his Superintendent.
42. Q. From whom does he get grievance blank?
A. From the Pullman Company.
43. Q. Do Company officials sit on the Local "C" committees who may recommend the discharge of a porter?
A. Yes.
44. Q. How long does it take for the average case to be settled after it is raised before Grievance Committee?
A. Three to six months, and sometimes longer.
45. Q. Are some cases never settled because of failure of porter to get hearing?
A. Yes.
46. Q. Are grievance blanks sometimes refused porters?
A. Yes.
47. Q. Could a grievance be heard if it were not filed through blank? If not, why not?
A. No. A ruling of the Management terms the Plan the only channel of pursuit.
48. Q. How often does the local Grievance Committee, Zone General Committee, or Industrial Relations meet?
A. As often as requested by the Management.
49. Q. Who instructed the porters as to what the Plan means and how it operates?
A. Porter-instructors and district officials.
50. Q. Who appointed the instructors? Were they paid? If so, by whom?
A. The Pullman Company. Yes. The Pullman Company.
51. Q. Did the Plan emanate from the porters? Were they paid? If so, by whom?
A. No. No. No one.
52. Q. Have porters any faith in Plan as method of settling grievances?
A. No.
53. Q. Are regular meetings held by the Plan in their respective districts?
A. No.
54. Q. Are porters supposed to be members of the Plan? If so, how do they join?
A. Yes. Voting makes you a full-fledged member of the Plan, or you automatically become a member of the Plan when entering the service.
55. Q. Are there national officers of this plan? If so, when, where and how were they elected?
A. Yes. One. Appointed by Pullman Company in Chicago. With the adoption of the Plan by the Management. One. Mr. F. L. Simmons. One elected by Zone Committeemen in June, 1926.
56. Q. Describe the Primary ballot.
A. Square slips of yellow paper, made into the ballots by the Pullman Company's stenographers.
57. Q. Describe the Election Ballot.
A. Same process, except names of two porters getting the highest number of votes for each office, on the committee, appear on the final election ballot.
58. Q. Describe process of voting in Primaries.
A. Porters are given notice of the election by the Management, and during the election period are told there is an election going on in the office, go in and vote. The entire office force becomes an election committee, go on trains, in the streets, on duty, and everywhere they can find a porter.
59. Q. Describe process of voting in Election.
A. Same process, only more stringent, with check-off system, to determine who voted and who did not. As all porters refusing to vote in the Plan election are told by the Management that they are disloyal to the Pullman Company, and the Management brands them as "Reds," and further tells them they cannot expect to remain in the service very long with that disloyal attitude toward the Company.
60. Q. Describe structure and function of Plan.
A. The Plan was constructed by the Pullman Company without the knowledge of the Pullman porters at all, and has functioned as was intended. It is a Company Plan, organized by the Company for the best interest of the Company, and not for the benefit of the porter.
61. Q. Are you in favor of plan? If so, why? If not, why not?
A. No. It is a Company Plan, and from my practical experience as Chairman of Local Committeemen "C," for two years, it was proved to me by the Company, that it was not to do the things for the porters that they were told it would do when it was first presented to them, or forced upon them by the Management.

Remarks: These answers to the foregoing questions are truthfully answered by me, as was practiced by the Pullman Company. The Pullman porters, I found long ago, wanted a Union that would function to their interest somewhat, as well as to the interest of the Pullman Company, where sufficient evidence was brought out in grievances to warrant such.

(Signed) E. J. BRADLEY,

Former Chairman on Local Com. "C" Plan of Employee Representation 1923-1924.

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(A REPRINT)

The Social Service Bulletin

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THE METHODIST FEDERATION FOR SOCIAL SERVICE

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EDITORS: HARRY F. WARD; WINIFRED L. CHAPPELL

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THE BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS

Introductory

Porters Organize. In the summer of 1925 the dissatisfaction of Pullman porters with working conditions and with the company union as a means of bettering them had reached an acute stage. They therefore organized themselves into the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and formulated a series of demands. Within a year they had a national labor union (headquarters, 2311 Seventh Ave., New York City) with groups in Chicago, St. Paul and Minneapolis, Omaha, Kansas City, St. Louis, Denver, Portland, Seattle, Los Angeles, Oakland, New Orleans, Washington, Boston, Detroit and Buffalo, and other termini for porters, and with groups working secretly among the porters in other centers.

Endorsement. It has the endorsement of the American Federation of Labor, the Railroad Brotherhoods, leading negro organizations such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, National Urban League, Negro Elks, and of prominent attorneys. In New York a citizen's committee of 100 is supporting the organization and leading negro clergy have issued a statement in its favor.

Opposition. The Pullman Company is actively opposing the union. It added to its payroll as spokesman against the union, the prominent negro leader, Perry Howard, who is on the payroll of the U. S. Department of Justice as special assistant to the Attorney-General. A company representative states emphatically that the Pullman Company has done more than any other agency for the negro in this country. A. Philip Randolph, editor of the *Messenger* and general organizer of the Brotherhood, is in his estimation, "socialistic" and "atheistic," an organizer for the union is an undesirable character, porters who join the union are "disloyal." The Brotherhood complains of the dismissal of union porters, news releases in papers across the country warning against joining the union, subsidies to negro papers in the form of company advertisements, employment of spies, suppression of information about the strength of union meetings.

An Issue. Shall the company union or the Brotherhood represent the men before the Railroad Mediation Board? This board, provided for by the Watson-Parker law, states that "representatives for the purposes of this act shall be designated by the respective parties in such a manner as may be provided in their corporate organization or unincorporated association, or by other means of collective action, without interference, influence or coercion exercised by either party over the self-organization or designation of representatives by the other." The company claims that 85% of the 12,000 porters and maids have by secret ballot endorsed the Employee Representation Plan. The Brotherhood claims a membership of nearly 7,000, of whom 900 have been enrolled since Dec. 1st. The Board is just now investigating these claims.

A Porter Survey. Employing the technical help of the Labor Bureau, Inc., the Brotherhood has made a comprehensive study of its own situation, drawing upon government documents and well known statistical studies, and obtaining first hand information from a questionnaire and case studies. The following data are drawn largely from that report.

Nature of Porters' Service

Part of Pullman Service. Since 1867, the Pullman Company has sold service to the travelling public. That service does not include transportation which is provided by the railroad companies; the Pullman Company undertakes to provide comforts. The porter's service is a major element in this comfort, so recognized by the company. "Without the efficient help given by its loyal employees," said President Carry to the stockholders in 1925, "the Pullman Company could not have made the splendid record it did."

Duties. Pullman instructions list 217 matters to which the porter must give continuous attention—rules pertaining to care of bedding, berths, baggage, guarding of cars, care of cars, ventilation, heating and lighting, etc., matters of great importance to the traveller.

They Must Be Negroes. Company policy calls for employment of negro porters and maids. Negroes are recruited from the south. The Company Benefit Association, by its constitution, restricts membership to negro male persons and a declared object is to render service "attractive to the best elements of the negro race." Yet the porters' occupation is a blind alley job with no chance of promotion, as representatives of the company have admitted in government hearings. And the chance for a raise in wages is extremely limited—$3 after two years in the service, $3 more after five years, a slightly larger increase after 15 years, in all a range of about $10.

What does the Social Creed say about equal justice for all men in all stations of life?

Concerning Porters' Wages

Present Minimum. The minimum wage of porters is $72.50 a month and is based on a mileage system by which porters must cover 11,000 miles or complete about 400 hours of road service during a month before they receive overtime pay. This overtime is on the basis of 60 cents for every 100 miles in excess of 11,000 miles. "Doubling out," the term used for an immediate run after one trip is completed, without a rest period, is paid for at the same rate, as are also delays after the first hour, on the basis of 30 miles an hour. Averages compiled from a questionnaire returned by 673 regular porters and 104 extra porters showed a monthly mileage of 10,402.8, that is less than the 11,000 miles on which overtime is based. The average wage was $78.11. Tips which averaged $58.15 a month increased this wage, but ocupational expense brought the total down to about $97.43 a month.

Porters and American Living Standards. The porters put their average net income of $97.43 a month—about $1,100 a year—over against estimates of living costs of different categories of working men's families in the United States made by the Federal Bureau of Labor Statistics, the National Industrial Conference Board, the New York and Philadelphia Bureaus of Municipal Research, the National War Labor Board, the New York City Board of Estimate and other agencies. These brought up to 1926 by well known statistical methods range from about $1,460 to $2,500. Concerning their wages the Brotherhood concludes that "measured by every test to which they may be submitted . . . they are below the average maintenance expenditures which are actually made by families throughout the United States; they are below the standards which have been set by reputable agencies of all kinds for laborers, for 'workers' and for clerical workers; for the 'subsistence' of an unskilled laborer and for the achievement of a minimum of health and decency for any worker; for the maintenance of the actually small family of the average porter or for the maintenance of the standard 'census' family" (man, wife and three minor children).

Porters' Wages, Past and Present. The Pullman Company has emphasized the percentage increase of porters' wages—the 1926 wages are 163% higher than those of 1913. The Brotherhood points out that the increase was from so low an original wage—$20 in 1897, $27.50 from 1911 to 1913—that it is still totally inadequate, especially as living costs have risen so tremendously that they have left purchasing power far behind—the $540 additional annual wage represents only about $170 in added purchasing power.

Movement of Comparative Wages. Finally the Brotherhood quotes figures which show that the porters' wages lag behind those of other workers. Between 1897 and 1924, wage earners in transportation increased their average earnings from $544 to $1,572 (with somewhat higher levels from 1920 to 1923). The porters' average gain in the same period was from $240 to $793. Between 1915 and 1926 conductors' wages went from $70 to $150 a month ($155 in 1920 and 1921). Porters' wages in the same period went from $27.50 to $72.50—a higher percentage raise, yet the conductors were all the time faring better.

"A living wage as a minimum in every industry"—Social Creed.

Tipping

The porters' wage is augmented by tips. The company uses this as an excuse for keeping wages low.

Union Emphasis. The Brotherhood claims that the tipping system affects the porter's

orking condition adversely in many ways. t recognizes that the evil is not peculiar to its work but argues that the prevalence of an evil is no justification for its existence. (Other grievances are considered below under Brotherhood demands.)

Economic Aspects. The average tip revealed by the questionnaire and substantiated from other sources was $58.15 a month or, subtracting the $33.82 paid out in occupational expenses, a net increase to wages of $24.33 a month. But averages do not tell the whole story. Tips vary with runs and seasons and types of patronage, resulting in inequalities, uncertainty of income and speculative risks. Thus, 376 porters reported tips of less tha $50 a month, 245 reported more than that amount. Five porters earned less than $15 a month on tips, while two earned more than $200. Moreover, the tipping system has again and again blocked the porters' efforts for shorter runs and for a shorter basic month, the company arguing that the porter himself could not afford reforms which would prevent him from "following tips to their destination."

Social Aspects. "The porter is a negro. The tipping system . . . creates a peculiar relation between the tipper and the man tipped. On the one hand . . . a sensation of power and patronage and on the other . . . a possibility of obsequiousness and dependence. But when to this we add the fact that the man tipping is usually white . . . while the man tipped belongs to a race that is even now struggling to a recognized social status, we aggravate all the inherent social evils of the tipping system." (*How do you feel when you give a tip? Would you like to take it?*)

The Company Saves. The company's monthly wage bill for porters is approximately $811,200, the approximate income to the porters from tips $703,200, saving the company (assuming that to get porters if the system were abolished it would have to raise wages to cover present tips), about $700,000 a month, or nearly $9,000,000 a year. Moreover, indirect savings are made by the company in that it bases wage rates of extra porters and pensions to superannuated porters on the regular wage, not the wage plus tips; and on that basis it limits stock sold to employees. The Brotherhood raises the pertinent question, Who gets tipped, the porters or the company? (*Are we who ride responsible?*)

Welfare Work

Over against porters' grievances must be put the various types of welfare work which the company maintains for its employees, and its provision for selling them stock.

The Benefit Association. The Pullman Porters' Benefit Association provides that porters who affiliate with it pay an annual assessment of $28 if they are less than 45 years of age and $32 if older. In return the Association cares for members in time of sickness, incapacity or death. The company maintains a close relationship with this organization, dominating its policy and contributing to payment of expenses.

Pensions. The company grants a pension equivalent to 1% of the annual salary during the past 10 years of service, multiplied by the years of service, amounting to an average of about $18 a month to porters who have given twenty years or more of consecutive service and have reached seventy years of age.

Does this meet the demand of the church for "suitable provision for the old age of workers"?

Other Provisions. The company has also established various educational courses, bands, entertainments and field days and an employee magazine, the *Pullman News*, all of which it claims have a beneficial effect upon the workers, contributing to *esprit de corps*.

Stock Distribution. In February, 1926, a company announcement stated that stock would be sold to employees at reduced quotations on an installment plan. Each employee is entitled to purchase one share per year for each $500 of his annual salary. Present wage rates make it possible for a porter to purchase but one share in a year.

A Company Union

In the fall of 1920, the company gave to its employees the Employee Representation Plan, which has the usual features and limitations of the company union.

The Employee Representatives are the base of the Plan. They are annually nominated and elected from the ranks of the porters. They continue their employment and receive wages while acting as representatives, attending committee meetings on leave granted by the company, at places and under conditions set by the company.

Grievance Committees. The Plan provides for Local Committees composed of an equal number of porters elected annually and of members chosen by the company, usually from the supervisory force. The local committees elect representatives to the eight Zone Committees which also have an equal number of porter and company representatives. Beyond the Zone Committees is a Bureau of Industrial Relations composed entirely of management officials until August, 1926, since which date one porter has been included.

Joint Conference. The Plan as printed by the company indicates no machinery for the establishment of wage rates and working conditions, though it states that the Bureau of Industrial Relations shall have to do with "matters pertaining to wages, working conditions, questions of industrial relations. . . ." In 1924 and again in 1926 the company held Joint Conferences with employee representatives elected from the ranks of porters and maids. The resulting agreements fell far short of what the porter representatives asked. No minutes of the first conference are available. Abridged minutes of the 1926 meeting show the employees struggling against impossible odds. Employees may petition for the calling of a new joint conference but the company has final power relative to holding elections of employees for the purpose.

Brotherhood Demands

In one of the most telling sections of its report, the Brotherhood analyzes the weakness of the Employee Representation Plan as an instrument of bargaining power between men and management, and presents as a substitute its own organization which has endorsed the following program. Similar gains, it points out, have been won by the Order of Sleeping Car Conductors through its independent organization.

Wages and Hours. A minimum wage of $150 a month instead of the $72.50 now in effect; this would make possible the ending of the tipping system. A month's service of 240 hours—which is the conductor's working month at present—instead of nearly 400 hours.

Pay for Preparatory and Terminal Time. The Brotherhood figures that a porter leaving New York at 12:30 midnight for Washington, who is now required to report for duty at 7:30, actually gives the company those five hours of service, since the mileage upon which his pay is based begins when the train leaves the station. At 25 cents an hour, this represents $1.25 for one run, and as he makes the trip twelve times a month, he contributes during the year $180 of free labor to the company. It considers this a large item for a man whose yearly wage hovers around $1,000.

Delayed Arrivals. Adjustment of pay for delayed arrivals of trains. At present, the porter is paid about 14 cents an hour—little more than half pay. Conductors are paid on the basis of time and a half for overtime, or about 96 cents an hour.

Doubling Out. Adjustment of the system known as "doubling out," which not only deprives the porter of his rest period but gives him a lower rate of pay.

Sleep. Four hours sleep the first night out and 6 hours the second and third nights. It notes that the conductors through their union have secured similar adjustment. At present provision for sleep is very inadequate; this is one of the most pressing of the porters' problems.

Conductors' Pay for Conductors' Work. That when the work of a conductor is added to that of a porter, as happens in the case of several thousand porters in the service, the porter be paid conductors' wages. Inasmuch as the minimum wage for a conductor is $150 a month, and the porter is paid but an extra $10 for this work, the company saves $140 a month on each "in charge" porter. A company rule provides that porters in charge of two cars may receive minimum conductors' pay, but the conductors' union requires the employment of a regular conductor whenever two cars are sent out.

Extra Porters. New porters are not at once assigned to regular runs, but act as substitutes or serve on extra cars. They must report for duty regularly, but they receive no pay unless assigned to a run. The union demands a flat rate of pay for these workers.

Equipment. Provision of equipment which at present amounts to an average of $33.83 for each porter. This includes cost of uniforms until a man has been ten years in service, shoe polish, meals during runs, sleeping quarters at termini, which porters often prefer to provide for themselves though the company provides them.

Union Recognition is of course the major demand. The Brotherhood asks that it, rather than the company union, be recognized as the spokesman of porters and maids, in negotiating agreements, handling grievances and transacting other business between management and men.

What does our church say about the right of employees to organize?

Can the Company Meet the Demands?

Designating itself as the Party of the First Part and the Pullman Company as the Party of the Second Part, to a dispute, the Brotherhood presents data to show that the company is amply able to meet its demands.

Investment and Increase of Capital Stock. According to the company's own statements made to the Interstate Commerce Commission, the total cash investment up to 1924 was $32,601,238. The present capitalization is $135,000,000. The increase represents reinvestment of surplus earnings and the issue of stocks as dividends and in exchange for property. Thus, for instance, the capital stock outstanding in 1897 was $50,000,000; this has since been inflated by the issue of $60,000,000 of stock dividends. This infla-

tion operates to keep the apparent rate of dividends below the actual rate. When the company in its published statements makes much of the fact that its dividends have seldom gone above 8%, it is reckoning on the inflated capital. Calculated on the $50,000,000, the dividend rate runs about as follows: 8% in 1897, 28% in 1898 (when an extra cash dividend of 20% was declared); 9¾% in 1899, 12% from 1900 to 1906, 16% from 1907 to 1910, 19.2% from 1911 through 1925. A total of $245,675,000 has been distributed in the form of cash dividends since 1897 and the additional $60,000,000 in stock dividends. Over $10,000,000 was paid in dividends during 1925.

A Vertical Trust. The company manufactures its own equipment. It owns the entire capital stock of the Pullman Railroad Company and the Pullman Car and Manufacturing Corporation, 99% of the stock of Mann's Boudoir Car Company and the entire control of the Union Palace Car Company and the Woodruff Sleeping and Parlor Coach Company. The actual earnings of the Pullman Company are somewhat obscured by the fact that the manufacturing end of the business has been placed in a separate corporation, the Pullman Car and Manufacturing Corporation. The Pullman Company owns the entire stock of this subsidiary which, however, pays a stated dividend of only 6% on its own capital stock to the Pullman Company, while the balance of its earnings remain in its own treasury. Thus, of $6,816,996.22, which this subsidiary earned in 1925, it kept in its own treasury $3,566,996.22, which amount, though part of the Pullman Company earnings, does not appear in the reported earnings. An analysis of the assets and liabilities of the company of market quotations of its stocks and its operating statistics, show that the net income for 1925 was in reality about $19,340,000, instead of the $10,000,000 reported.

The Methodist Episcopal Church stands for the highest wage that each industry can afford; for the most equitable division of the product of industry that can ultimately be devised.—Social Creed.

Additional New Books

Oil (A Novel), by Upton Sinclair. Published by the Author, Long Beach, Calif.

Homes of the Freed, by Rossa B. Cooley. New Republic, Inc., N. Y. City.

Singing Soldiers. By John J. Niles, Charles Scribners Sons, N. Y. City.

Hero to His Valet. By James E. Amos. The John Day Company, Inc., N. Y. City.

The Myth of the Individual. By Charles W. Wood. The John Day Co., N. Y. City.

Readings in Trade Unionism. By David J. Saposs. George H. Doran Co., N. Y. City.

Wonderful Ethiopians of the Ancient Cushite Empire. By Drusilla Dunjee Houston. Universal Press, Oklahoma City, Okla.

New Tactics in Social Conflict. A Symposium. Vanguard Press, N. Y. City.

The Field God and in Abraham's Bosom. By Paul Green. Robert M. McBride and Co., N. Y. City.

Negro Workaday Songs. Howard W. Odum and Guy B. Johnson. Univ. of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, N. C.

The Revolt of Asia. The End of the White Man's Dominance. By Upton Close. G. P. Putnam's Sons, N. Y. City.

To Whom it may Concern:

"This compilation disregards entirely organizations which are purely local in character, works councils, and those organizations which are or may fairly be regarded as company unions. It deals with only bona fide labor organizations functioning in June, 1926. In relation to inclusion or exclusion in present work, a bona fide labor organization may be defined as a group of wage or salaried workers organized for the purpose of employing economic or political pressure to improve the material condition of its members.

"Care has been taken not to include in the Bureau's list of existing bona fide unions those sporadic groups which, however authentic and effective they may be for a time, do not attain real stability.

"An organization, the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, which had barely come into existence at the first of the year, is rapidly attaining a vitality which indicates permanency."

Taken from the Handbook of American Trade Unions, United States Department of Labor, James J. Davis, Secretary, Bureau of Labor Statistics; Ethelbert Stewart, Commissioner.

Bulletin No. 420, October, 1926, pages 1 and 2.

Prize Essays

(*Continued from Page* 140)

Youth can and will solve the problem, or else my gift of prophecy is no gift at all. The new spirit of inquiry, of freedom and "revolt" inherent in the Youth Movement of which we are hearing so much, must sooner or later brood also over what is regarded today as the hallowed and sacred precincts of human contacts, better known as "race relations." The ancient bats and hoary owls of discrimination and race prejudice, which for so long a time have inhabited the belfries of adult thinking can no more stand the pitiless light of scientific research and the penetrating rays of analytical analysis than could the old theory of "an act God" stand in the face of Pasteur's discovery of the relation of bacteria to disease.

Already the observer in the watch-tower can detect the first faint glimmer of this new light on the far horizon, as schools and colleges in small and isolated groups, but with a significance as latently powerful as Justice, Right and Truth are powerful, meet to discuss in the freedom of utmost frankness the issues involved in America's handling of her self-imposed color problem.

Adult, middle-aged, senile statesmanship is floundering distressingly, and we turn to Youth for the solution.

Shade of Sir William Osler, we invoke thee!

Next Month: "What Good Are College Fraternities?"

The Man Who Wins

If you think you are beaten, you are;
  If you think you dare not, you don't;
If you'd like to win but you think you can't,
  It's almost certain you won't.
If you think you'll lose, you've lost;
  For out in the world we find
Success begins with a fellow's will;
  It's all in the state of mind.

If you think you're outclassed, you are;
  You've got to think high to rise;
You've got to be sure of yourself before
  You can ever win a prize.
Life's battles don't always go
  To the strongest or fastest man;
But soon or late the man who wins
  Is the man who thinks he can.

—*Selected*

Editorials

(*Continued from Page* 155)

vility and mendecancy, among the many, and idleness, ease and arrogance of the few.

The Month

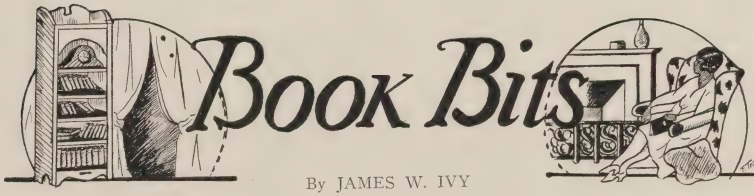
THE air tingles with sensation everywhere. Events astonishing and bewildering in their implications sweep swiftly onward. We are living centuries in a day.

Our marvelous mechanical progress has been attended with an obvious acceleration in social change. Each age moves with greater pace than the preceding one. Thus it is not strange that stupendous world movements gather force with suddenness and rapidity.

The world still reels with the amazingly rapid movements of the Kuomingtang or Nationalist Party of Southern China. The spirit of Sun-Yat-Sen has swept all opposition before it. All the world stands aghast before China while she flings her defy into the teeth of Western Imperialism. Though England pretends to be ready to make concessions demanded by Chiang-Kai-Shek, the military leader of the New Movement, she attempts adroitly to maneuver Japan and the United States in to opposition to the aspirations of the New China for the right of self determination.

Japan deftly fences with the Cantonest Revolutionary Movement and her former white allies. She seeks to avoid either helping to put the foreigners out or to keep them

(*Continued on Page* 170)



By JAMES W. IVY

"You Negroes have no history." This is the Nordic shiboleth when Negroes disturb Nordic equanimity; when Negroes further narrow the awful inequalities between the two races; when Negroes lay claim to an historic culture; in fact, when Negroes do anything that one hundred per cent Americans think they should not do. This dogma, of course, is supported **mainly by emotion plus three or four ear-kissing argu**ments and a certain historic-myopia when it comes to recording facts about us sons of Ham. We Negroes must write our own histories and leave the Nordic Berosuses as a "spoil to oblivion." In this work so far as we American Negroes are concerned, Dr. Woodson and Mr. Taylor are rendering us an invaluable service. And as they continue to add volume to volume, little islets of historical facts begin to emerge from the sea of Nordic lies. *Mr. Taylor's "The Negro in the Reconstruction of Virginia" (Washington: The Association for the Study of Negro Life and History:* $2.15) is one of these little historical islets. Mr. Taylor's study of the Negro in the Reconstruction period in Virginia is a scholarly, detached, and at times, a very amusing account of the ex-slave, his former master, the carpet bagger, the Freedmen's Bureau, the F. F. V.'s, and the various subtle schemes for the re-enslaving of the freedmen. Mr. Taylor writes, well, which is very unusual for a historian, and although he is at times tedious, he is never dull.

The Nordics says that we "have no history." But we are not the only ones who are lacking in virtue in this great Republic of "democrats." If I read another Nordic gentleman correctly, and I think his findings true, we Americans, both black and white, are lacking in tolerance. Mr. C. Warren Gutelius, just a plain, native-born Protestant, gentile American has been making this discovery. According to his findings the *Homo Americanus* is intolerant; indifferent to the rights and views of his fellow Americans; far from the democratic ideal of Jefferson and Madison. In this year of Our Lord, 1927, things have come to such a pass that *Mr. Gutelius* thinks it high time to write a book to tell us all about it and to show us how tolerant an American he can be. So in his *"Confessions of a Tolerant Man" (Northumberland, Pa.. The Susquehanna Press:* $0.35) he records his impressions and experiences with those groups, races, individuals, sects, religions, and classes which ordinarily come in for much intolerant stupidity from their fellow white, native-born Protestant brethern. Since Mr. Gutelius is a typical American on his own admission you do not expect him to be very philosophic nor very critical. And he is not. For most of his views are quite naive, those of a would-be intellectual sophomore in some jerkwater college in Mississippi. I append an example of his reason for tolerating Darrow and Burbank and the other doubters of the divine revelation. "To me," he says, "Christianity is an exact science, just like the science of mathematics, of electricity, of radio or of astronomy." And again: "To me, the Bible is the text book on this science (of God) from Genesis to Revelation." His tolerance is that of the good-natured, healthy animal; that of the average Nordic American with a good job, money in the bank, a devoted wife, and affectionate children.

When an outsider questions the motives and ideals of the old Confederacy, "good" Southerners readily become the most intolerant people on God's green foot stool. Some years ago, Mr. William Colson wrote a very able article for the MESSENGER showing how intolerant Southerners could be when their ideals were at stake. He showed too that there were two separate and distinct patriotic spirits in this country; that of the North, which he ironically dubbed "Americanism," and that of the South he called "Confederate Americanism." We Negroes know full well the meaning of the latter; for despite its idealism in its concrete manifestations it has worked to our disadvantage. In recent years this sectional spirit has greatly diminished; the rapid industrialization of the South has been responsible for the infiltration of capitalist ideas and sentiments to the detriment of the old Confederate idealogy. But do not for a moment believe that the South has suffered a change of heart, for she has not, despite Professor Mims' discovery that some Southerners are actually civilized. The spray from the Stone Mountain Memorial scandal-wave has sprinkled enough stench under our nostrils to remind us that the South is still the South. Until the dismissal of Gutzon Borglum from his job, in true Southern style, as head sculptor, I was not even aware that the tremendous memorial was actually being undertaken. Now Mr. *Gerald W. Johnson,* one of the more civilized tar-heelers, has come forward to tell us all about it in his *The Undefeated" (Minton, Balch & Co.;* $1.50). They story he tells reads like a tale from the Arabian Nights, and although we live in the twentieth century it seems that miracles do happen, and right under our noses at that. If you think I lie go to Johnson's book; it is all there, the genii, the magic carpet, everything. From the literary standpoint, Mr. Johnson has done a good job; however, I am anaesthetic to the whole idea of hallowing out hunks of stone from a remote mountain in Georgia simply to prove to a doubting world that the Confederate cause also had its heroes and its great but misguided leaders. I suppose most Negroes feel about it just as I do, yet one must be an idiot not to admire the zeal and courage and nobleness of spirit first exhibited by the Daughters of the Confederacy in their struggles to express their dreams and ideals in colossal carvings on Stone Mountain. Mr. Johnson says that:

"The real question in this case is neither the triumph of Gutzon Borglum nor that of the Stone Mountain Monumental Association. The real question is whether or not the story written in the model and inscribed in part on the mountain in the head of Lee, is in any real sense a portrayal of the spirit of the modern South. Of course, the South is not now populated exclusively by heroes, but neither was it so populated in the sixties, yet there was the spirit of heroism in it. If that spirit still survives, then it will inevitably prove dominant in the end, and there need be no fear that the memorial will be lost. If that spirit is extinct, then the memorial ought not to be created, for in that case it would be a ghastly satire upon the degeneration of a race."

The quarrel over the question as to who was going to control some two millions of dollars, says Mr. Johnson, was what led to the break between Borglum and the Monumental Association, this and petty politics. Money and petty politics break some men and things, while it is the making of others. Now we will consider a case where money and politics is the cause of the making of an individual, that is, making him in the polite society sense of that word.

"I'll Have a Fine Funeral" (Brentanos: $2.50) *by M. Pierre La Mazière* is a brilliant exposition of the fact that all successful politicians must enter by the "right door", which upon analysis means that the politician somewhere in his career has compromised with his honor and his honesty. It is the cashing of a check that starts M. La Mazière's hero on the road to the French Senate. A check belonging to the *Crédit Général,* at which our hero is a clerk, but which the cashier has failed to cancel and hence becomes the rightful property of the one who dares to use it. Our hero being faithful to his masters and indifferently honest like most people, takes some time to make up his mind that it is right to use it. But his vsion of the Fine Funeral of a former senator of the Republic who won his spurs as a result of his part in the Panama Scandal, comes to give him courage, courage so that he too, may have a fine funeral. The die is cast, fate presents the golden apple, he plucks it. Then through clever investments in stocks and bonds he finds himself the possessor of a modest fortune, which gives him a certain dignity and power and adds much to his vanity. Now he is within the portals of the "right door." From now on his rise is rapid and easy and in the end we find

him rich and sleek and still faithful to his masters. A brilliant *tour de force,* this novel of M. La Mazière's, and written with that daring irony so reminiscent of Anatole France. M. Mazière is touched with genius and I like his *"I'll Have a Fine Funeral."*

As its name implies the Catholic church is *The Church;* it is universal; it has a long and notable history and notable traditions behind it; it has dignity, and in fact, all those more civilized elements which are so sadly lacking in our more barbaric and meddlesome Protestant churches. For besides the Catholic church our Protestant one is a sort of religious parvenu with all the cocksureness and ignorance of such upstarts. To compare them is like comparing a *soudard* with a raw recruit. As *Mr. Cuthbert Wright* puts it, in his *"The Story of the Catholic Church"* (*Albert and Charles Boni,* $2.50), "Protestantism may be defined as a Christian heresy." The Protestants questioned the infallibility of the Pope; the twentieth century questions God Himself. Luther merely questioned the sale of indulgences; our Protestant brethren question all ideas of decency and common sense. From the Bible as the basis of Catholicism we now have it as the basis of scores of impotent and bellicose sects, each claiming that it and it alone, is the right, the true *Sect.* "It is obvious," says Mr. Wright, "that a man will find in the Bible exactly what he brings to it; in short, there will be almost as many little religions as there are Bible readers. This is precisely what has happened to Protestantism from Luther on." The result is a distinct decline in the dignity and authority of the church and a weakening of the bonds of religion. Nevertheless, the Catholic church in mere numbers, if not in authority, continues to hold its own. To understand why this should be so I advise my readers to read Mr. Wright. For he has erected stone by stone, from its beginning to present day America, the stately historical edifice of the Catholic church, and offers it to us for our inspection. He is not voluminous; he compresses his story in about three hundred pages and he sums up whole social movements and heresies in epigrams, which add to the sprightliness of the book. The Catholic church, he tells us, is "an international church, an everlasting church, lifted high above our little systems and pruderies, compounded of cackle and conceit." The Catholic church in America, it seems, is rapidly becoming Americanized. "The only trouble with the Catholic church in this country," Mr. Wrights tells us, "is that it is nervously attempting to be a department of the American Defense Society or the Purity League. No one can read its history without realizing that its true function in this world is something very different. The American branch of the church is no longer a rebel against civil governments and the stupidity of the yokelry. There was a time when Catholic churchmen were also men. I prefer not to say," writes Mr. Wright, "what a lot of them are now."

It is given to a few men in each generation to make some solid contribution to the general storehouse of human knowledge. In the realm of psychology where everything hitherto has been pious fudge and a ghastly metaphysic borrowed wholesale from theology. Freud was one of the first to make anything resembling a scientific contribution. In late years, however, it has remained for an American, *Dr. Watson, "Behaviorism" (W. W. Norton & Co.,* $3.00) to add something that is at the same time new and true. In psychology there is much that is new, but it is, in most cases, mere nonsense. Even Freud has buried his gold under a mountain of dross. Some of Dr. Watson's contentions, it seems to me, are almost as fantastic; yet, I dare say, his main thesis is sound. That the entire basis of thought and feeling is to be found in bodily habit and that only this bodily habit can be perceived externally and caught in the net of science. What cannot be chartered or discovered by statistical laws of behavior is not psychology as Dr. Watson views the matter. And I think he is right. For if psychology is to ever be a natural science some such delimiting of the field is an absolute necessity. Science can only deal with objectives, and there was nothing objective at all about the theologic fancies of the introspectionists. Introspection is not science, although its *Journaux Intimes* are interesting. And as long as the old introspective method held sway we had as many types of psychologies as there were psychologists. I realize the fact that many able men object to Dr. Watson's reduction of thinking to a sort of "subvocal" speech, feeling to visceral exhilaration, and character to bodily habit. Professional psychologists are aghast at his annihilation of their theory of instincts and instinctive emotions, upon which their whole psychological ideology is based; the eugenists at his dismissal of inherited characteristics; the mental testers at his assumption that all individuals are equal at birth; and the orthodox in society at his flouting of their idea of free will and individual responsibility regardless of previously conditioning stimuli. Such individuals will continue to pole against Dr. Watson's findings, but his method, *i.e.,* the objective method, will have to be used by all future psychologists; those who make any pretense to science instead of an authenuated theology must of necessity follow the road which he has chartered. No longer will psychologists "look in their hearts and write."

Those who keep up with so-called Negro literature have noticed the lamentable fact that all able sympathetic novels about the lower class Negro are written by whites, while those of the middle and upper classes are written by Negroes with a greater talent for sociology than literature. Gertrude Sanborn attempted a study of the upper class Negro; but it is merely society reporting. Other men like Shands and Stribling give us grotesque take-offs when they write about our educated few and show greater insight and sympathy when they write of the masses. Clement Wood was honest enough to admit that he really did not know the educated black man. Negro artists of more pretension than performance abjure the masses because of their inferiority complex and their latent fear that whites will think we have no *élite* if they deign to come down the social ladder a few rungs for their material. Whites make caricatures of our *élite* because of their superiority complex and the insidious nonsense, engrained in them from childhood, that there 'ain't no such animal" as an intelligent Negro.

It is true that later experience corrects this aberration, but some traces of its effect remains. Then too, the educated Negro refuses to accept the white except on terms of equality, and this galls the white and is a direct challenge to his ego; the more so since it comes from a black man. I am of the opinion that this condition will continue for many a year. Talented white novelists will give us pictures of the lower classes of our people, while talented Negroes will confine their creative efforts to the middle and upper classes. *Mrs. Julia Peterkin* is one of those talented Southern white women, who with a sweet kindliness of nature gives us sympathetic studies of the lower class Southern Negro in her native state of South Carolina. In "Green Thursday" there was a magic of loving comprehension which appealed to the deepest humanity in us. Now in *"Black April"* (*Bobbs Merrill,* $2.50), she again reveals her astounding talent in a sympathetic study of a certain class of South Carolina Negro. She has caught their peculiarities of dialect, their idiotic superstitions, their pleasures, their joys and sorrows, and their imaginative understanding of nature. She writes of an isolated plantation and the life of its Negro field hands and their foreman, Black April. The story is sketchy. It moves from picture to picture. With Breeze we learn of Cousin Big Sue, Uncle Bill, the barnyard, the hog-killing, the quilting, the church, the field work, the duck hunting, and the plowing. The whole life of the plantation is here: loves, hates and all. It is Black April, the foreman, who like a sinister shadow, hovers over the entire plantation. Who rules with a rod of iron. He is sympathetic, cruel, cynical, a pagan of the pagans, a frank sensualist at times; a hater of the very women whose bodies he has enjoyed; he turns from Don Juanism to a passionate affection for Joy and takes a fatherly interest in his bastard son, Breeze. A man, is April.

The following books have been received for review:

NEGRO LABOR IN THE UNITED STATES, by Charles H. Wesley, New York; Vanguard Press, Inc.

IN BORNEO JUNGLES, by William O. Krohn, Indianapolis; The Bobbs-Merrill Co.

THE ARTS OF CHEATING, SWINDLING AND MURDER—Bulwer-Lytton, Douglas Jerrold and Thomas De Quincey, with an introduction by Jesse Lee Bennett, Baltimore; The Arnold Co.

THE MEANING OF ADULT EDUCATION, by Eduard C. Lindeman, New York; New Republic, Inc.

ON "CULTURE" AND "A LIBERAL EDUCATION," by Jesse Lee Bennett, Baltimore; The Arnold Co.

(*Additional List on Page* 166)

HELP US OUT

See Page 169

Impressions of Morocco

(*Continued from Page* 143)

clerical and otherwise. There seems to be something in the blood of the English-speaking white, when he comes in contact with members of the darker races in any large number, that makes it impossible for him to be happy unless they are under his heel. The Latin, broadly speaking, is quite different. There is, for instance, a big difference between the manner in which Negroes are treated south of the Rio Grande, and north of it, if we except the English-speaking parts of it as the Canal Zone, where jim-crow prevails.

The only manifestation of racial feeling is against the Jew—which like other customs, goes back to Bible times. The Jews, among which are many of the most prosperous merchants, are, I understand, forced to live in a jim-crow quarter, called the Mellah. This attitude toward the Jew is common to most Mohammedan countries, many of which prohibit marriage between them and the Moslems.

The intellectual capital of the Moors is Fez, the centre of their arts, letters and music. This Moslem culture, of which the Moors are a part, once extended from the Philippine Islands to the coast of Spain, excluding Northern Europe. Near Fez is Timbuctoo of whose Negro scholars Felix Dubois pays a high tribute in "Timbuctoo, the Mysterious." Fez has always been distinguished for its scholars, among which was Leo Africanus, whose work on Africa, was the standard authority, for more than three hundred years.

The Moroccans, it is said, hope once more to recover Spain and regain prestige in Europe. It seems to me, that the first step toward doing so, will have to be a re-vamping of their mode of thought. and the adoption of modern methods, like the Japanese, and more recently the Chinese.

And this also holds true of Negroes in America. If ever they hope to be a power in America, they must get rid of their superstitions, their petty jealousies, and adopt the thought-forms, the modern methods and machinery of their rulers.

Educating Nordics

(*Continued from Page* 144)

this definite plans can be worked out by which libraries, schools, colleges, churches, and what not, can be supplied with whatever books and other literature is necessary to give out information that will not only increase the white man's respect for a people whose ancestry has done so much towards laying the foundation for a world civilization, but which will help the colored man himself to a greater appreciation of his own abilities and accomplishments.

Text Books in Schools

(*Continued from Page* 149)

or the silence concerning the various Negro troops in the various wars is to be expected. We cannot quarrel about that. We might hope that a future history and geography would tell the truth and be inclusive in its references and data. But our immediate concern is with the glaring falsifications, the deliberate attempt at a kind of propaganda far-reaching in its effects, and destructive of any respect which one race should have for another.

That sort of thing is expected in the unreconstructed South, where readers still extol Lee and Jefferson Davis as the nation's ideals, and where histories tell everything but the truth. But if we are to have understanding and harmony between the races; if the Inter-Racial Commission it to continue to function in truth in its efforts to bring about inter-racial good will, the work must be begun with the children, in the schools, in the text-books, among the teachers. Children must be taught to respect and to be fair and just and truthful. Progress en masse in race relations is uphill work after the adolescent period.

Here then, is a job for the Negro Women's Clubs. To conduct searching inquiries into not only the superficial aspect of the text-book, but the little subtle passages scattered throughout the pages. To protest the use of any books which make a false impression of a race. To insist that white children be taught the truth, even as colored children are being taught. A big job, but one desperately needed.

Theater

(*Continued from Page* 157)

Lord's handy man. William (Babe) Townsend plays the part of the conjure man as well as Mr. Basshe has written it and in minor roles Hemsley Winfield and Marie Young do creditable work.

Mrs. Clough, Mrs. Young, Mr. Pryor and Mr. Townsend are old Lafayette players and have plenty of experience behind them. But I have never before seen the work of colored actors so intelligently and effectively co-ordinated and credit for that should go to the drill masters of the New Playwrights Theater. Since it affords our actors such an invaluable lesson in team work I fervently hope "Earth" pays so well that it will inspire the immediate production of another "Negro" play. If the New Playwrights experience any difficulty thinking up an original theme I respectfully suggest introducing colored actors, spirituals, a Charleston spree, a Mississippi background and a battery of tom-toms in the story of Abie's Irish Rose.

Awakening

The Negro in his blindness
Bows down to white men's gods,
Content with crumbs of kindness
Or any other odds;
Yet once his wits were duller,
Once, weaker his backbone;
And at last the man of color
Stirs, and dreams about his own.

—*Robert Whitaker*

WANTED:

Young men and women to represent THE MESSENGER

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This appeal is addressed to all of the Readers of The Messenger.

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Editorials

(*Continued from Page* 166)

in China. She wants to retain the good will of both Nationalist China and her enemies. Verily, if the cards of destiny were very clear to her, she should choose a Nationalist China which may assist in the establishment of a Monroe Doctrine of the East, which, to Japan is a consummation devoutly to be wished. Nippon is jealous of the privilege to exploit China and dominate the Pacific, too.

Despatches tell of the wild enthusiasm which burst out in Soviet Russia upon the fall of Shanghai to the Nationalist Army. Meanwhile, signs are visible of strained relations between Russia and the Pekin Government. The world looks on with bated breath at the dramatic struggle of 400,000,000 Chinese to achieve statehood.

In the Balkans, trouble brews again. Jugoslavia and Italy are at loggerheads. Jugoslavia is restive under the treaty of Tirana made between Italy and Albania, which gives Italy great advantages in the Adriatic. Mussolini would doubtless welcome a war that he may use it as a promise of fulfillment of Italy's destiny, whatever that is. But there are stakes that concern more than Italy and Jugoslavia in this embroglio. Like the shooting of Duke Ferdinand of Austria at Sarajero, a tempest in the tea-pot in the Balkans may set aflame all Europe.

It is clear that Europe needs more than a Locarno to achieve peace. Age-old feuds are quickly revived. Note the irritation between Germany and Poland over the rights of German nationals. Poor Poland's back is breaking under the heavy load of a budget to maintain a huge army of some 450,000 with a view to keeping both Germany and Soviet Russia at bay.

According to the Manchester Guardian, the color problem of the British Empire is on the road to solution, if the policy adopted in South Africa of according Indians the same status of white, is followed all over the Empire. But what about the Negroes in the Empire? Nothing is said about the lot of the African Negroes, who, too, will eventually awake and demand the rights of white Europeans.

In America, Mexico and Nicaragua, are the two main points of irritation. Calles refuses subbornly to yield to the ultimatums of the oil barons of the United States. As an apparent penalty, the State Department seems unwilling to renew the pact to prevent the smuggling of arms across the border, which may be the signal for new revolutions in the interest of oil.

Nicaragua is gradually settling down into the hands of Diaz, the puppet of certain American banking interests.

President Coolidge vetoes the Filipino plebiscite upon the doubtful theory that the Filipinos are not ready for self-government.

President Borno of Haiti, bars Senator King from landing in the country. It is interesting to note that Senator King has fought for the freedom of Haiti from the American Military Occupation and Borno, the tool of American financial interests, is opposed to Haitian independence. Interesting?

Of domestic import, the Ford-Sapiro libel trial is perhaps the most sensational happening of the month. Senator James A. Reed, counsel for Ford, has cleverly kept the question of international Jewery out of the case, although Sapiro is quite the intellectual match of Reed.

In politics, the victory of Thompson over Dever for Mayor of Chicago, is the most sensational. The wise men of politics view it as a sharp set-back for the Lowden presidential boom, which has been moving fast as a result of the President's veto of the McNary-Haugen Farm Relief Bill.

Two Negroes, Walter White and an African, won the Guggenheim awards. Governor Alfred Smith seems to be the strongest aspirant for the Democratic nomination for president.

Notice to Out of Town Porters

Here Is Where the Brotherhood Meets in New York City and When:

ST. LUKE'S HALL

125 West 130th Street
New York City

For the Month of May:

Wednesday, May 4th
Wednesday, May 18th

All meetings begin promptly at 8:30 P. M.

Every porter should consider it a duty and a privilege to attend these meetings, in order to hear A. Philip Randolph, and keep informed of developments in the rapid forward conquering march of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

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Open Forum

A Voice for Supporter and Opponent

Letters hereafter must not exceed 200 words—the 23rd Psalm had no more!

DEAR FRIEND:

I wish to thank you very much for your letter of December 30 in which you said that you are sending me 100 copies of The Pullman Porter. As soon as we have them, we will send them out to persons who will be interested by them and who will have some influence in extending the message contained therein. Thank you very much for giving us these pamphlets and I hope we may repay your courtesy by putting them into the hands of persons who will make the best use of them.

Assuring you of ...y best wishes and trusting you will let me hear from you if you think our organization can be of further service to you, I am,

Very sincerely yours,
WILBUR THOMAS,
Executive Secretary,
American Friends Service Committee.

Philadelphia, Pa., January 3, 1927.

Nice Words from the West

MY DEAR MR. SCHUYLER:

In promoting these debates and discussions in your columns I feel that you are rendering great service to the readers.

With best wishes to you and our great magazine, THE MESSENGER, I am, etc.,

RAYMOND W. CANNON, *Gen'l Pres.*,
Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity.

Minneapolis, Minn.,
March 30, 1927.

Cheers from Africa

DEAR MR. SCHUYLER:

From both THE MESSENGER and many other American publications, I learned some time ago of the gallant efforts to organize Negro workers in the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, with Comrade A. Philip Randolph as the moving spirit. You must be congratulated for the success that you have made within a few months and my special congratulations to Mr. A. Philip Randolph in this connection. With regard to ourselves, we have also made very rapid progress in this country beyond the expectation of any man or woman. Our membership has increased to over 75,000 and it is quite possible that before long we shall reach 100,000 membership.

With cordial good wishes for the success of THE MESSENGER and its mission amongst the Negro workers of the United States, I am, etc.,

CLEMENTS KADALIE, *Nat'l Secreary*,
Industrial and Commercial Workers Union of Africa.

Johannesburg, South Africa,
February 23, 1927.

The Fruits of Publicity

MY DEAR FRIEND SCHUYLER:

Your methods in handling THE MESSENGER are destined to make it the most powerful and widely circulated periodical of its kind in the country.

I have received letters from all over the country concerning my insurance article in the March issue. It was the source of much personal publicity.

A few days ago, a man coming from New York, stopped in my office to congratulate me on the article and voluntarily applied for $3,000 worth of life insurance as a testimony of his changed mental attitude.

With highest personal regards, I am, etc.,

GEORGE W. LEE, *Dist. Mgr.*,
Atlanta Life Insurance Co.

Memphis, Tenn.,
March 30, 1927.

A Pleased Contributor

DEAR SIR:

Thanks ever so much for the excellent place and illustration you gave my story. I thought it was grand—layout and all. I'm hoping your readers will like it. I've just finished another with the same background which I will send you in a few days.

THE MESSENGER has some mighty good material in it this month. Lewis on the theatre is great, as usual, and those cartoons of Holloway's are just about the cleverest and most satirical things I've seen in a Negro publication. I hope they are to be a regular feature.

LANGSTON HUGHES.

Lincoln University, Pa.,
April 2, 1927.

A Mild Protest

MY DEAR MR. SCHUYLER:

May I call your attention to an erroneous statement on page one hundred twenty-five of your April issue?

I note there, under the brief statement of Mr. Eugene Gordon's life, the fact is announced that among other things, he "discovered" me, (meaning—I imagine—my leaning toward writing).

May I correct this error? Prof. Charles Townsend Copeland of Harvard University, who was my professor in a course in short-story writing at Radcliffe College, was the first person to put his seal of approval upon my work and to point out its marketable assets.

Mr. Gordon happened to be editing the page, I believe, in the *Boston Post* when I sent my first efforts there.

It is not that I regard the statement either as a star or a thorn in Mr. Gordon's crown. I merely dislike mis-information broadcasted about me.

MARIETA BONNER.

Washington, D. C.,
April 1, 1927.

Oh! Never Speak a Hasty Word

"Oh! never spurn the weaker side,
If fault lies with the stronger;
Oppression may succeed at first,
But justice triumphs longer;
For truth is truth, and right is right,
Though wrong may rule a season;
Whate'er opinion ye may hold,
It must give way to reason."

—*J. E. Carpenter*

DOES ORTHODOX CHRISTIANITY HANDICAP NEGRO PROGRESS?

Come Hear This Great Debate between

KELLY MILLER, sociologist, author and lecturer, who says **NO!**—and **V. F. CALVERTON,** noted editor of "The Modern Quarterly," who says **YES!**

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PRESENTS

The Most Striking Debate of a Decade

IS MONOGAMY DESIRABLE?

Affirmative
UPTON SINCLAIR

Negative
V. F. CALVERTON

Other feature articles

January Number—Just off the press

Max Eastman
Former Editor of The Liberator

Samuel Schmalhausen
Contributor to the leading Sociological Journals of the country.

V. F. Calverton
Author of The Newer Spirit and Sex Expression in Literature.

Earl Browder
Former editor, The Workers Monthly.

Arthur Calhoun
One of the leading radical sociologists in America.

Clarence Cameron White
Leading negro musician.

James Oneal
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